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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

Resources for Crisis

By Kathleen Bliss

Churches Should Pay Taxes!

An Editorial

Union in South India

By John J. Banninga

The Atrocity of Mass Expulsions

By Alexander Boeker

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In This Issue

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April 9, 1947

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Calendar of Coming Events

April 7-18. Lectures on Church, Law and Society, Union Theological Seminary, New York; Bishop Gustaf Aulén, speaker.
April 8-10. South Dakota Baptist Ministers' Retreat, Sioux Falls College, Sioux Falls.
April 11. Chicago Tract Society, Annual Meeting, Central Y.M.C.A.
April 11-12. American Society of Church History, Butler University, Indianapolis.
April 13. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; George A. Buttrick, speaker.
April 13. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Archibald MacLeish, speaker.
April 15-17. Annual Pastors' Conference, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.; Rolland W. Schloerb, Morton S. Enslin, speakers.
April 15-18. Ministers' Wives School, Grailville, Loveland, Ohio.
April 16-18. Joint Meeting, Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches and International Missionary Council, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
April 16-19. Associated Church Press, New York city.
April 17-19. Minnesota State Christian Young People's Conference, Mankato.
April 19-21. Meeting, Arrangement Committee for World Council of Churches 1948 Assembly, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
April 19-21. United Stewardship Council Spring Meeting, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
April 20. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Willard Brewing, speaker.
April 22-25. Meeting, Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
April 25-27. Kappa Chi Fellowship of Christian Service, Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa.
April 26. Rhode Island Bible Class Convention, Cranston.
April 26-27. New Jersey Bible Class Convention, Rutherford.
April 28-May 1. Wisconsin Pastors' Conference, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
April 28-May 30. Lectures on Church, Law and Society, Episcopal Theological and Andover Newton Theological School, Cambridge and Newton Centre, Mass.; Bishop Gustaf Aulén, speaker.
April 30. General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains, Washington, D. C.
May 1-4. New England Conference, Lutheran Augustana Synod, Brockton, Mass.
May 4. Midyear Meeting, Church Building Committee of the Home Missions Council, Birmingham, Ala.
May 4-11. Religious Book Week.
May 4-11. National Family Week.
May 5. Conference on Church Architecture, Interdenominational Bureau of Architecture, Birmingham, Ala.
May 7-9. National Council of Community Churches Convention, People's Church of Christ, Chicago.
May 7-11. Southern Baptist Convention, St. Louis, Mo.
May 8-10. Decentralist Movement Conference, Oklahoma City.
May 10. Massachusetts Bible Class Convention, Salem.
May 11. Rural Life Sunday.
May 19-23. Northern Baptist Convention Annual Meeting, Atlantic City.
May 20-21. North Illinois Synod Conference, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Peru.
May 22. Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., General Assembly, Grand Rapids, Mich.
May 27-29. Wisconsin Laymen's Conference, Green Lake.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

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EDITORIAL

NOTHING of importance happened in the first three weeks of the conference of foreign ministers in Moscow. This was the meeting which was to settle the future of Germany and Austria. When the deputy foreign ministers failed in weeks of preliminary discussion even to agree on an agenda, hope faded that a German treaty was possible. But it was expected that the powers might agree on Austria. Then it developed that the ministers could not agree on the definition of a German asset, and even that hope dimmed. The Russians claimed that anything ever held by a German was legitimate loot. The other powers maintained that property stolen by Germans from inhabitants of Austria should be restored to its former owners. And there the whole treaty hangs. C. L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* reports that Secretary George C. Marshall has emerged as the dominant figure at the meeting. With the concrete achievements of the conference totaling zero, that appears a doubtful compliment. The fact is that the United States and the Soviet Union have once more collided head-on, and have again fallen into the deadlock which is characteristic of their relations. Meanwhile the catastrophe which engulfed humanity in the Second World War deepens in intensity and widens in scope as the prospect of eventual recovery retreats day by day into the remoter distance.

Moscow Deadlocked After Three Weeks

Draft Act Expires With War Powers

AMONG the war powers of the President and the war acts of Congress which expired on March 31 was the Selective Service law of 1940. The law has not been enforced for many months, so its expiration attracted little public attention. Congress now faces the question whether it will set up the form of conscription which President Truman calls "universal training" in place of the kind the country has had for nearly seven years. The effort to keep the committee structure and the records of the Selective Service Administration intact for a while longer indicates that a strong effort will be made to continue conscription in some form. This effort finds support from the powerful army lobby and from industrialists who do business with the military forces. It is generally opposed by educators and by organized labor, farm and church opinion. The administration's new Mediterranean policy strengthens the chances that President Truman will get his way concerning conscription. So also does the British Labor government's advocacy of conscription for young Englishmen between 18 and 26. In the two instances previous to this when the United States adopted universal military service, Great Britain led by adopting it first. If the American Congress has in the past been sensitive to the example of the British Parliament in this matter, it may well be so now. The British plan is incorporated in a National Service Bill which is to cover a five-year period. Taking a cue from our war department, it no longer refers to inductees as "conscripts." But they are still required to give eighteen months whole time and five and a half years part time. The only body of workers exempted as a group are miners. The British bill is expected to place in military service 200,000 young men annually. The position of their country as revealed by recent events suggests that they should be better employed.

Austin Explains To the U.N.

WHY did President Truman by-pass the United Nations in his effort to deal with the situation in the eastern Mediterranean? Mr. Austin, our representative on the Security Council, made it all clear to that body one day last week. "Armed bands" were menacing peace and order in Greece, so we are spending $150,000,000 to help the tiny Greek army. But Mr. Austin did not explain why the President asked a similar amount for the military forces of Turkey, which profited from the war and where no armed bands threaten tranquillity. He said people are hungry in Greece, so we must send $100,000,000 for food. He did not explain why we refused to go on with UNRRA, whose suspension caused the people of Greece to be without food. Neither did he attempt to say why we permitted

the long-range program for the rehabilitation of the Greek economy, which had been proposed by the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization, to be withdrawn on the day President Truman asked Congress for American aid. Most puzzling of all, Mr. Austin did not mention the failure of the United States to refer the Greek crisis to the United Nations four months ago when the state department first learned that Britain was going to withdraw, as Acting Secretary Acheson admitted last week. The General Assembly was then in session, and the matter could have been handled with dispatch. Did President Truman keep it secret because he feared the U.N. would deal with it and would thus deprive him of the opportunity to gain the advantages which accrue to the office of President when Congress is compelled to deal with a major emergency in a brief time? Congress should refuse to be stampeded into precipitate action, and should insist that we honor our pledges to the U.N. with something far more impressive than Mr. Austin's gesture. Its investigations should include the air fields said to have been built by the United States army at Araxes and Athens in Greece and at Heraklion in Crete long after need for them had passed—air fields with permanent living quarters which were rushed to completion by the army engineers nearly a year after the end of the European war. The people of the United States have the right to demand that Congress refuse to be distracted by the red-baiting hysteria which the administration offers in place of a reasoned case for its program, and go to the bottom of this highly doubtful proposal.

Lateran Pacts Affirmed in New Italian Constitution

FASCISM gave the Vatican the restoration of papal sovereignty, special privileges for the Roman Catholic Church and huge sums in bonds and current income in liquidation of its claims upon the national wealth, by the Lateran treaty and concordat of 1929. Communist deputies in the constituent assembly cast the deciding votes, on March 25, in determining that the provisions of both the treaty and the concordat shall be incorporated in the new Italian constitution. There was never any illusion as to the motives which prompted Mussolini to settle the "Roman question" by conceding the substance of what the church had been fighting for ever since the extinction of the Papal State and the disestablishment of the Roman Catholic Church in 1870. He himself made it clear. His Fascist regime needed the support of the church—and got it. The present motives of the Communist party are less clear and the exact number of pieces of silver that it will gain by its betrayal of the nation cannot be so definitely computed. The most explicit statement, which is only conjectural, is that the Communists "wished to rid themselves of the anti-Catholic stigma" in view of next October's elections. To what extent this strategy will succeed remains to be seen. The Socialist party, the Italian Protestants (numbering about 100,000) and the Jews opposed the inclusion of the Lateran treaty and the concordat in the new constitution, but they were able to muster only 149 votes against 350 cast by the opportunistic coalition of the (Catholic) Christian Democrats and the Communists. The premier, De Gasperi, implored the delegates not to "destroy the peace on religion" and so "open another wound in the tortured body of Italy." The Communists stressed the necessity of preserving the solidarity of the workers by avoiding "religious controversy." Both arguments implied a clear recognition that the Vatican would fight to retain its privileges, no matter what the result might be for the nation, and that the only way to have peace was to yield to the demands of the church. Though the issues here are different, it is a pattern of appeasement not unfamiliar to Americans who wish to promote interfaith amity.

Clarifying Catholic Ideas Of Religious Liberty

FROM the Roman Catholic point of view, the arrangement that has been confirmed for Italy is a perfect embodiment of religious liberty at its best. It recognizes Roman Catholicism as the state religion of Italy; continues the financial support of that church; insures Roman Catholic teaching (and no other) in the public schools; declares the person of the pope "sacred and inviolable"; recognizes the sovereignty of the Holy See; grants to diplomats accredited to the Vatican all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by those accredited to Italy; confirms the extraterritoriality of several churches and other properties on Italian soil; grants to cardinals, as "princes of the church," the honors due to "princes of the royal blood" (whatever that may now be worth); and gives the support of the constitution to such a provision of canon law as that forbidding any legislation for the legalization of divorce. While the Roman Catholic Church is thus admittedly given a "special status" in Italy, there is nothing in the constitution, as there is nothing in the treaty or the concordat, to prevent other churches from existing, if they can. On the ground of this slender residuum of liberty, the premier tries to persuade the religious minorities of Italy and their Protestant sympathizers abroad that there is "no discrimination" against non-Catholic groups. Nothing short of a revival of the inquisition, it seems, would be recognized as discriminatory. The great difficulty in all discussions of religious liberty between Catholics and Protestants is that the phrase has radically different meanings for the two parties. For Protestants, it means liberty for all individuals, on equal terms, to hold and practice their religious faiths without hindrance or preferential assistance by the state. For Roman Catholics, it means a certain amount of individual liberty, but the exercise of this limited by a special and unique "liberty" for the Roman Catholic Church which, being "the only true religion," is entitled to a special status in relation to the state. No authoritative Roman Catholic definition of religious liberty can be found which does not include this concept of special rights for that church which no other is entitled to enjoy.

Food Riots Occur In British Zone

HUNGER is the oldest and most persistent inciter of revolution. Last week hunger was the primary cause for demonstrations involving hundreds of thousands of

persons in the British zone in Germany. The riots served to remind the Moscow conference that hunger does not declare a moratorium while Big Four diplomats waltz round and round in ponderous ineptitude. The British administrators recognized that recent breakdowns in transportation, owing to unprecedented climatic conditions, justified the protest, since the ration had sunk to 800 calories in some places. An official said: "These unfortunate people have had a lot to put up with and are losing heart. If they choose to show disapproval by marching about the streets, I don't blame them." This appraisal is supported by a letter written by a citizen of this zone on March 2: "The snow and frost which, except for a very short interval, have been with us for ten weeks and are accompanied by strong east and north winds, have made the already existing difficulties unbearable. Even in the Ruhr district, there are many families that have no fuel any more. Conditions are worst of all in the destroyed cities, where plumbing is frozen in most houses and where for days on end it is often impossible to obtain bread. If there is any bread, it can only be obtained after standing in line for hours. We all long for spring as we never did before and for the end of this terrible trial that God has imposed on us. Then I hope we will have passed the lowest point and will be able to help in building up the new and peaceful world for which the German people longs. It is to be anticipated that the lessons of the past twelve years will save them from falling again into the errors which have brought them to their present low estate. But want and misery are not the soil in which good qualities can develop. Hope must be left us that we will be given the opportunity to work ourselves out of our present misery through diligence and decency." What do bread riots indicate concerning the people's hope?

Empire Is Justifiable If We Rule It!

HITLER wanted to rule the world, so Hitler had to be destroyed. For millions of people, that was why we had to fight the Second World War. It was reason enough to impel even conscripts to do battle, for something deep in men reacts against such arrogance. But now, it seems, we must learn another lesson. Too many believe that it is all right for one nation to rule the world if we are the nation. Such a thesis is advanced by James Burnham in an article in the March 31 issue of *Life*. The struggle for world dominion is on between Russia and ourselves, he says. Communism must not win; therefore we must take the responsibility of world rule. We cannot depend upon the United Nations to keep the peace, nor can we be sure that other countries will cooperate voluntarily. But if we arm to the teeth, multiply atomic and other weapons of mass destruction, we can win a good share of them to our side by a combination of bullying and persuasion. Then comes the showdown. We shall have no need to worry over responsibility for starting the Third World War, because it is already under way. The sooner we realize that either Russia or ourselves will be destroyed, the sooner we understand that the United States has no alternative but to fare forth and set up a world empire lest Russia beat us to it and destroy us, the better. Of course our purpose is pure. We shall be acting for the benefit of humanity, not for sordid gain. All this has a familiar ring—an echo of Kipling and the white man's burden and the Burma girl awaitin' so conveniently near to vast supplies of oil and cheap sweated labor. It is no accident that the article, which condenses a new book, appears in *Life*. Henry W. Luce, owner of that publication, glimpsed a vision two or three years ago which he called "the American century." The vision faded, but now it seems to have appeared once more in even more impressive form. We must rule the world for the world's good! Our only rival is Russia, so Russia must be destroyed. This is the road to new war; to global tyranny, with ourselves the tyrants; to destruction, with humanity rising against us as we rose against Hitler, and for the same good reason.

Russian Church May Join World Council—Perhaps

INDICATION of the possibility that the Russian Orthodox Church may take a place in the World Council of Churches, as some other Eastern Orthodox churches have already done, does not go much beyond warranting a pious hope. Dr. Visser 't Hooft is reported as saying that there are "strong indications" of such a trend of sentiment in the Moscow hierarchy. This statement comes after conferences with Father Seraphim, representing the Russian church in Paris, after he had returned from a visit to Patriarch Alexei in Russia. No specific data are given concerning Father Seraphim's report or in support of the optimistic interpretation of it. Dr. 't Hooft is expected to attend the World Council meeting to be held at Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania, later this month, and fuller information may be forthcoming then. Seraphim admits that he did not discuss with Alexei or with the other Russian church leaders the question of cooperating with the council's program of church reconstruction or any other problems that might be considered "political or social." He did, however, give a favorable account of the popular interest in religion in Russia, the establishment of many new parishes, the large attendance at church services, and the church's complete liberty "in the religious sphere." Nothing has happened to dissipate the suspicion that the Kremlin's recent friendliness to the church has more political than religious motivation. But that suspicion should not be held as a ground for unwillingness to admit the Russian Church to the World Council if it desires to join and is permitted by its government to do so. There are other churches in the council whose connection with their governments is closer than American ideas of the separation of church and state would permit.

Nation Should Mourn and Make Its Mines Safe!

CENTRALIA is a sore spot on the conscience of America today. But what will it be tomorrow? If the past provides any indication, it will be forgotten. John L. Lewis' truculent call to mourning over the death of 111 miners should have been a call also to national repentance for lack of vigilance in the enforcement of law. There are plenty of federal and state statutes which, if obeyed, could

make such disasters as that at Centralia almost impossible. Why are the laws not obeyed? Primary responsibility rests on the mine owners. They resisted the enactment of safety laws for years. Now most of them make the enforcement of the laws as difficult as they dare. Under a state administration like the Republican regime in Illinois, they dare a great deal. And when the state officials operate under a national administration like the present Democratic government in Washington, the situation is practically an invitation to the mine owners to treat the laws with contempt. Shocked reporters found literally thousands of unpunished violations of safety laws listed on the books of mine inspectors after the Centralia explosion. In the files of the state government they found letters from miners warning of dangers in this mine. Nothing was done, and now the writers of these letters are dead. Other miners too will die unless coal mining is drastically reformed. The United Mine Workers Union would not possess the power it has were not the abuses in this essential industry so great. But the public must not entrust entire responsibility for reform to either the union or the management. It has its own stake in insisting upon a far-reaching change for the better. What that stake is can be seen in Great Britain. A major cause for the industrial paralysis, the collapse of transportation and the lack of heat in millions of British homes during this winter of unprecedented cold was a mining industry so badly and dangerously managed that young men refused to work in it. That can happen here. It will happen here unless the public recognizes that the welfare of a half-million miners is a national responsibility.

UNESCO Fights Shy Of Religion

UNFAVORABLE comment was provoked, not only from Religious News Service but from other observers also, by the complete absence of religion from the agenda of the first national conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, for which a large concourse of intellectuals assembled at Philadelphia during the week ending March 29. The charter of UNESCO urges each member nation to establish a national conference to serve as a link between its government and people and the central organization. The recent meeting was the outgrowth of that plan. One of the topics discussed at length was the needed revision of school textbooks throughout the world to exclude "nationalistic, jingoistic or chauvinistic attitudes." This undoubtedly needs to be done. Other agencies, including the National Education Association, have given much attention to textbook revision as a domestic issue, in order to minimize misinformation and prejudice among races and religions. It is a praiseworthy project, provided always that it is not carried out on the principle of eliminating any material, however true, and however essential to the understanding of historical and social realities, that is embarrassing to any influential group. The world-wide extension of such revision presents more difficulties, but is perhaps even more important as a contribution to peace. It will be one of UNESCO's major projects this year. But why did the conference close its eyes to religion? One suggestion is that it did so for fear of offending Russia, which has not yet joined UNESCO and which, it is suspected, may be the less likely to join if religion is recognized as an element of culture and is therefore likely to be discussed along with science, art and literature. If this was the reason, it was not a good one. This was a meeting of the American *national* conference.

Churches Should Pay Taxes!

AT OTHER TIMES, The Christian Century has expressed the strong opinion that the present system of tax exemption for churches is wrong. The decision of the Supreme Court in the bus transportation case inevitably brings other questions besides the bus issue to the fore. It is an opportune moment, therefore, for Protestants to re-examine the position in which their churches stand in relation to the state. A correspondent whose letter appears on page 465 of this issue raises several questions. Among them is that of tax exemption. We hold that churches should pay taxes on their church property and that Protestants should lead in demanding the enactment of a law abolishing for all churches the subsidy the state now gives them.

It will, of course, be a formidable undertaking, politically, to bring about the enactment of legislation to annul this long established privilege. The opposition that will arise from the churches themselves whose vested interests are enormous can probably be overcome only by a long process of education and agitation. This, however, is no reason why the issue should not be clearly defined and the agitation begun. A sufficient number of the churches will have to be brought to the point where they are willing to put aside short-range, selfish considerations in the interest of unselfish principle and long-range religious and social good. The principle, stated simply, is that churches should pay their own way.

The legislation required for the annulment of this privilege would have to make a distinction between strictly *church* property and what might be called *human service* property owned and operated by churches. But this distinction would not be too difficult to make. Church buildings proper and auxiliary buildings (manses and houses for the clergy), unimproved real estate and parochial schools are plainly *church* property, used or to be used for religious purposes. These should not be exempt from taxation. On the other hand, hospitals and other eleemosynary institutions owned and operated by a church are in essentially the same category as similar institutions owned and operated not for profit by secular corporations. The humanitarian ends served by these institutions are the same, and their exemption from tax does not violate the principle of separation of church and state.

The case stands otherwise with respect to the exemption of strictly church property. The accumulation of such property has now become so great and is increasing so rapidly that its removal from the tax rolls adds an unjust and increasingly felt burden upon every taxpayer. Obviously, the taxpayer pays more because the church pays nothing. This means that every taxpayer pays for the

support of all churches of whatever kind. The Protestant citizen pays for the support of the Roman Catholic Church, and vice versa. Both Catholics and Protestants help to maintain the innumerable sects which have sprung up in American society.

For the state to use its taxing power to compel the citizen, willy-nilly, to support churches is a violation of the first amendment to the Constitution which forbids the making of any law respecting the establishment of religion. It encourages the churches to aggrandize their property holdings and so increase their political power on the secular plane. The Roman Catholic Church has taken full advantage of its exemption from taxation by systematically accumulating enormous properties, especially in the large cities. In some cities, the burden of this exemption has become so acute that it is beginning to define itself as a conscious resentment against the churches. The resentment does not find expression in the press—of course not!—nor in political platforms or candidacies—again, of course not! But it becomes increasingly vocal in the conversation of citizen with citizen who resent the fact that their property tax goes to aid a church against their will, and that removal of these huge properties from the tax roll adds a substantial increase to their own tax burden.

I

In the city of Washington, D. C., for example, the citizens are now being told that their tax rate must be substantially increased. The great holdings of the government in that city are, of course, exempt. But the Roman Church has been expanding its real estate holdings and building construction enormously in recent years. The removal of these properties from taxation accounts in an appreciable degree for the need of an increased rate. Can the citizens be expected to take this with equanimity? With the press and political parties afraid to discuss this issue, it smolders resentfully in the minds of the people and creates a mood which the spirit of tolerance can hardly overcome.

Our Constitution intended to place all churches on an equality before the law, but our tax exemption policy is a distinct factor in defeating this intention. Any privileged position in relation to the state lays any church open to the temptation to abuse its privilege. There should, therefore, be no such thing as a privileged position for any church or for all of them. Every church, large and small, should stand upon its own feet and pay its own way in the free society which our Constitution guarantees.

This principle applies no less to Protestant churches. Protestantism can be slowly and imperceptibly overtaken by a church which shrewdly avails itself of the tax exemption. In its own interest it should advocate the abolition of such state patronage before it is totally overshadowed by a highly propertied competitor. If the secular press and the political platform are closed to the discussion of this issue, the pulpit and press of Protestantism need not be. Protestants can hardly make their case against the encroachments of the Roman Church upon the public treasury in support of its parochial schools while they accept for their own churches the compulsory support of unwilling taxpayers. It would be an awkward and probably an impracticable thing for an individual Protestant church to renounce its tax exemption, but it can at least affirm its willingness to do so and advocate legislation that will abolish this undemocratic and unholy alliance of all churches with the state.

Besides, it is bad public policy for the state to exempt churches from their share of property taxation. It actually tends to encourage the multiplication of churches, and it can hardly be doubted that this is both socially and culturally bad. If churches had to pay their own way, including their share of property tax, there would be fewer of them. This country now has altogether too many churches (denominations and local churches) for its social, economic and cultural good. Their harmful effect upon the common life is sociologically recognized.

It cannot be maintained that the spawning of sectarian churches is in the interest of the public welfare. On the contrary, this process, carried to the point it has now reached in the United States, is a social evil as well as a religious scandal. While the state is rightly forbidden to interfere in this process, there is no justification for subsidizing it. Any group that wishes to form a church and own property must be allowed to do so. But it should not be encouraged to do so by the privilege of sequestrating property from the public tax rolls and thus, to that extent, compelling the public to support its undertaking. Tax exemption facilitates and stimulates the multiplication of sectarian churches by making the ownership of property unduly attractive.

II

Governmental tolerance of the widest diversity and variety in the field of religion is of the essence of political democracy. Indeed, this is the meaning of religious liberty. But the institutions embodying these diversities should pay their own way. They should be as nearly absolutely self-maintaining as it is possible to be in a society which grants them the great boon of religious liberty. This means that their property should be held subject to the same obligations that the law lays upon other property. It should be considered just as immoral for a church not to pay taxes as not to pay its ordinary debts.

The churches cannot hide behind the argument that they, too, are working for the general good of the community and therefore, like hospitals and non-sectarian schools, deserve to be tax-exempt. It is, of course, their belief that they are working for the common good, but taxpayers are by no means agreed that their influence is good for the community. Even those citizens who profess a religious faith do not agree, and they are entitled to choose what religious faith they desire to support. To compel them to support all religious faiths, among which are many they would definitely repudiate, is both confiscatory and a denial of *their* religious liberty.

From every angle, therefore, it appears that this long established practice, which, in basic theory, is contrary to the Constitution, should be abolished. The churches themselves should lead in bringing this to pass. No support for such a movement will come from the Roman Catholic Church, whose theory of the relation of church and state is incompatible with the American concept of democracy. But Protestantism has a vital stake in effectuating its own conception that church and state must be kept separate

if society is to be kept free. The acceptance of a privileged position in the economy of the state, even though this same privilege is accorded all churches, puts Protestantism at a disadvantage. It is handicapped in its resistance to the encroachments of the Roman Church upon the public treasury for the support of its parochial schools.

In principle, and in strict logic, there is little difference between the acceptance of a subsidy by tax exemption and subsidy from public funds for free textbooks and bus transportation to parochial schools. What difference there is lies in the fact that one is an immemorial custom whose undemocratic implications did not appear at the time our nation was founded. The issue was not raised. It was assumed without challenge that churches, inasmuch as they operated not for profit, should be lumped together in the same category with all such non-profit corporations and made tax-exempt. The fact that, in the case of churches, this practice created a bond between church and state, that it actually constituted a subsidy to the church by the state, and was therefore legislation "respecting the establishment of religion," was not perceived.

It remained for the true nature of this practice to become apparent only when additional encroachments further threatened the constitutional principle of separation of church and state. Sponsored by a powerful church whose emergence has become formidable only in our time, whose theory of the relation of church and state is itself incompatible with the American theory, these new encroachments have brought the whole question of church-state relations under review. These new violations must be condemned and resisted and any law sanctioning them repealed. But this is not enough. Thoughtful Protestants have now to examine their own position in relation to the state. And when they do, they will find that they, too, are being subsidized by the state through tax exemption.

Therefore, as Protestants mobilize their citizen forces in opposition to further encroachments, they should not undertake to defend their own exemption from property tax. On the contrary, they should concede the fact that their own and all other churches are the beneficiaries of an ancient rule in violation of the Constitution which provides for the complete separation of church and state. Not only should this point be conceded, but Protestants who oppose Roman aggression have no alternative save to condemn this anomalous benefit and labor for its abrogation.

For Protestants to concede this on their own behalf would greatly strengthen their cause in resisting the step-by-step strategy of the Roman Church in America. For this strategy embraces much more than the gaining of state support for its parochial schools, ominous as this is. Protestantism can be aroused from its complacency with respect to today's encroachments only by recognizing how radical is the incompatibility of Roman theory with American institutions. The ultimate end sought under its theory is nothing short of the attainment of state support for its entire ecclesiastical institution. Wherever the Roman Church gains ascendancy in a state, its acknowledged theory calls for tax exemption for "the true church" and the imposition of a tax on all other religious faiths.

No principle is more important in a society now as never before threatened with totalitarianism than to affirm and demonstrate the absolute independence of the Christian church—its autonomous life and its total responsibility for its own maintenance. What the future may have in store by way of suffering for those who steadfastly bear witness to the Christian faith, only God knows. But if a crisis comes to us like that which came to other countries gripped by totalitarian tyranny, the strength of the church will be determined by the degree in which it has become conscious of itself as solely dependent upon the devotion and loyalty of its own members and as absolutely independent, under God, as the state itself.

Where Find Wisdom?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Certain distinguished men and women were discussing the difference between knowledge and wisdom. I listened with attention, for they had won the right to speak that study and sincerity and experience give. But all the time—perhaps ten minutes—I missed something. When, I said to myself, are we going to hear the answer which is found in Job 28 and in Proverbs 8 and, most radiant of all, in the seventh chapter of Wisdom of Solomon? When are we to be directed to the Heavenly Wisdom who became incarnate for our redemption? "Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers," Tennyson wrote.

It is true that the acquisition of knowledge demands certain qualities of character and discipline, whether we are seeking to know the theory of relativity and the "wondrous architecture of the skies," or that within man which is called the spirit, by which he thinks and wills and loves. But wisdom is not merely a province within the vast country of knowledge. The thinker may deny that this is so, but then is it not better to let "wisdom," which is a word with a history and a glorious past, retire out of use?

Why should a Christian shrink from the things which follow upon his faith? Why should he surrender abjectly such truth as this from Solomon: "For wisdom is the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God and the image of his goodness. And being but one she can do all things, and remaining in herself maketh all things new; and in all ages entering into holy souls she maketh them friends of God, and prophets."

Is it not all here? Would not wise men in all ages—some without the Christian revelation—acknowledge this twofold office of wisdom?

Wisdom is not found unless there is love within it, and this is what is meant by God's grace stealing into all the ways of human life. It is not knowledge in any purely intellectual sense; it creates the spirit of man anew, since it makes the spirit an avenue of approach for the Redeeming Love and a rallying place for the Everlasting Purpose. The wise man knows and declares and carries out the mind of God. He is a prophet.

All this has within it the promise of the New Covenant —"not servants but friends," who proclaim and do their Lord's mind. "For after light cometh night: but vice shall not prevail against wisdom."

Ever yours,
QUINTUS QUIZ.

Resources for Crisis

By Kathleen Bliss

IT IS always said of the Englishman that his approach to religion is incurably moralistic. It is therefore not surprising that in the present economic crisis there is some talk of the moral causes and a great deal more talk of moral cures. Opening the three days' debate on the economic situation in the House of Commons, Sir Stafford Cripps said: "Never have the people of this island, backed, helped and encouraged by the sister nations of our great commonwealth, failed themselves or the world when, with native intelligence and with high hearts, they have gone out to meet and break through the difficulties that have confronted them. Today they meet a new challenge, a challenge to their capacity. It is one which is well within their competence but which demands of them renewed efforts and sacrifice. They will meet that challenge as they have met others in the past."

An even more outright appeal for moral effort was made by the *Times Literary Supplement,* which reproduced from the *Evening Standard* a cartoon by Low, depicting an apocryphal gowned figure holding to the lips of a timid and reluctant Mr. Attlee a long trumpet and urging him with the words: "Blow, Clem, Blow!" Reviewing the economic white paper in a long front-page article, the *Times Literary Supplement* said: "Religion has now a challenge it can and must meet. With the help of the churches the common effort can become a crusade for the recovery of England from religious negligence and civic passivity, from the ignominy of selfishness and cowardice." An overwhelming demand for copies of this article, resulting in a reprint, is evidence that this kind of moralizing appeals to many.

The *Economist,* on the other hand, thinks that little is to be gained by moral appeals. "Every intelligent person," says its leading article, "ought to be searching his mind for a policy of universal potency. The first recourse for such a policy is to the moral sphere. . . . Moral appeals can sometimes work miracles. But they do not often do so in economic affairs, where the dangers cannot easily be dramatized. The public has, after repeated doses, acquired a high degree of immunity to patriotic exhortation." It is interesting to note in this quotation that a denial of the efficacy of moral appeals actually contains the word "ought" in its first sentence, implying a duty to be performed by every intelligent person. Somehow we cannot stop moralizing.

I

Thus the argument goes on. We are all unwilling to accept the doctrine that this country is in the grip of economic forces beyond its control. Everyone wants to go on believing that economic crises are somebody's responsibility and that common sense, careful planning and hard work can pull us out of them. From the religious point of view the survival of this belief is very important. Over wide areas of the Continent such a belief has disappeared. In its place men harbor in their hearts the conviction that human history is nothing but the interplay of impersonal economic forces and that economic forces are entirely a matter of power. Once human history is read in this way, men have sold themselves to the pursuit of power as the only important value in life. But to pin down economic catastrophes to personal responsibility is to admit the existence of a moral law.

In the arguments that have gone on, both in Parliament and outside it, there has been plenty of laying of blame, but no fatalism. This attitude of mind derives partly from the fact that Christian teaching in Great Britain has always tended to lay stress on men's individual responsibility for their actions and to be this-worldly in emphasis. It derives also from our political history, for—sometimes unjustly but on the whole justly—holders of political office are made to answer personally for their actions. They are not immune from the workings of the law, the criticism of the press or the savagery of the electorate, expressed both in votes at elections and in probing and awkward questions asked from the floor of the House of Commons.

II

The second asset we possess to carry us through political and economic crisis is our political pragmatism. It is contrary to the British mind to think in terms of abstract ideals and then seek to apply them. Our political method is based on trial and error. We try a little of something. If it succeeds we have more of it; if it fails we try something else. Thus in our political vocabulary the word "doctrinaire" is a term of abuse. But although conservatives use that term freely as an epithet for socialists, if one examines the utterances of many members on the government benches, one finds them pretty strongly imbued with the typically English political method. Much that passes for socialism in this country is in a straight line of development from Liberal policy from 1906 onward, achieved by applying the results of a successful experiment to widening spheres of social life. The welfare state is not really socialism.

It must, however, be admitted that the pragmatic approach to politics has been successful in Great Britain in the past because the country had large margins within which to experiment. By being first in the field, both in the industrial revolution and in the race for colonies, Britain established a position in the world which could not be seriously shaken by political mistakes at home. Those advantages have now disappeared. In their place is a wealth of political experience, embodied in institutions and methods which have stood the test both of time and of previous crises.

The opposition is quick to criticize departures from this procedure, such as the increasing tendency under pressure of time to refer to standing committees matters which should be the subject of parliamentary debate. They are quite right in so doing. But what obtains slight notice is the influence which Parliament—its atmosphere, its bal-

ance of dignity and spontaneity, the powerful impression it conveys that the institutions of democracy are greater than the parties—has exercised on the imagination, speech and conduct of even the rawest recruit coming fresh to it in 1945 after the biggest political turnover in years.

Our third asset is a far greater degree of national unity than exists in most of the war-ridden countries of Europe. This unity became demonstrably clear at the time of the greatest national peril during the war. Neither classes nor parties were as divided when catastrophe threatened as they had appeared to be. Even now this unity is to be seen in many ways. In all the acrimony of party debate over the economic crisis, it is noteworthy that no Conservative speaker pleaded for a return to a free economy, because the necessity of planning has been accepted by all. The main contention of the opposition has been that the government planned badly and did not plan enough. It must be clear by now that Conservatives will have to fight the next election not on a program of "no planning" but on a program of over-all planning of economic resources with a minimum of specific controls.

III

Outside politics, certain wartime expressions of national unity have persisted. While there is increasing grumbling at continuing shortages, there is no serious breach in the discipline of rationing. The very great majority of citizens live on and dress in what is honestly come by on the ration. This in spite of the fact that rationing in Great Britain now covers *all* foods except fish and vegetables, and all clothing, including handkerchiefs, sheets, towels and soft furnishings.

The reason why this rationing scheme works without much contravention is that it is widely felt to be necessary and fair. Rationing, increased wages, heavy income tax and subsidized basic foods have resulted in a much greater equalization of standards of living in the nation. People can buy very little and therefore all tend to buy the best they can afford. The poor are better fed and better clothed than before the war. Greatly increased expenditure on education is also closing the gap between the classes. Life in the armed forces brought men and women of different social backgrounds into close contact.

Indeed, a passion for equality has become less a virtue than a bugbear in our present national mood. The habit of keeping a sharp lookout for queue-busters, for any small deviation in treatment, has tended to make most of us identify "fair shares for all" with social justice. The economic crisis therefore presents us with this question: Are we to stick to strict equality and shiver, or are men to be offered considerable inducement to come to the mines, giving them a position of privilege over, say, certain dockers, steel workers, cotton operatives and others whose work is unpleasant and not particularly well paid but not quite so critically important to the whole nation? And will these men strike?

This question brings us to the heart of our present problem. There has been a shift of power within the nation. It is the man in shirt sleeves—miner, agricultural laborer, railwayman, steel worker—who can, by giving or withholding his efforts, prosper or ruin the nation's cause. It is gradually dawning on us that this is not only true in a crisis such as follows a war, when much work needs to be done and there are few to do it. If we get full employment, to which all parties are pledged and on which the whole nation is resolved, this will be our permanent condition. Furthermore, with full employment there will be the permanent temptation to workers to demand higher wages, and unless there is continual self-discipline by these new holders of power in the nation, we shall live in continuous dread of inflation.

But it is quite unjust to say that the only section of the public which needs a new self-discipline and a new moral incentive is the trade unions. Managers and consumers are equally concerned. Without them there are no industrial system and no trade unions. But the trade unions have to make the largest adjustments. From being checks and brakes on employers they have now come, through the political power they wield as a large constituent of the Labor party and through the economic power given them by labor scarcity, to a position of being not the brake but the engine. Was there ever so great a change of psychology on the part of any large group in a nation in so short a time? The need for such a change is clear enough to trade union brass hats in Transport House, but not to the rank and file, of whom only a tiny minority take any interest in local union affairs.

If one were to ask whether the churches are capable of exercising any moral leadership in the affairs of the nation at this time, the answer must be that the direct influence of the churches on national affairs has been steadily decreasing for some years. Utterances by church leaders pass like ripples across the pool of the nation's life. Everywhere Christian men and women are frustrated by the remoteness of the church from a community which to all appearances is daily becoming more secularized.

IV

Yet it will not do to overpaint the gloom. There is something unique and peculiarly insular in the religious situation in Britain. Millions of people in this island seem to be perversely incapable of getting themselves into a church service and are impervious to all appeals to return to the churches. On the other hand, how little overt opposition there is to the teaching of the church! Anti-clericalism, rampant in France, is seen here only in the mildest form of caricature of clerical voice and dress. In spite of sliding moral standards, much home life is solid and good. There is a tradition of integrity in public affairs, local and national. There is a capacity to work for the larger good of the nation. As I write, hundreds of students and soldiers are working day and night, filling sandbags to keep back the flood waters. In bitter cold and tearing wind and snow, miners have somehow got to their work, railwaymen, transport drivers and the crews of colliers have performed prodigies of labor to keep the coal moving by land and sea routes.

The capacity to work long and hard for the sake of the community is there, but only in dramatic moments of crisis in which obedience to orders is the supreme virtue is this capacity roused by direct appeals from public men. We may be profoundly thankful that this is so. We have had a horrible example in Germany of a nation of individuals listening to a radio voice and going out in a fervor to do

what it bade. Only the mass man, the man in whom private judgment is suspended, behaves in this way. A national community is healthy when all the institutions and groupings within it are organically connected, so that men have some smaller end to work for—an end which can be compassed by their imagination but is not sectional and partial and in opposition to other groupings and institutions.

For years the strength and vision of the churches has passed, through some of their finest lay members, into the creation of secular organizations, and these have been the main means by which the church and its gospel have had an influence on the shaping of society. Schools and hospitals leap to the mind as the first of these institutions, dating from long before the Reformation or the coming of an industrial society. But the nineteenth century is filled with examples. Our social services function because there are housing managers, probation officers, hospital almoners, social workers, club leaders. The societies which recruit and train these workers had their origin in Christian initiative, and a large proportion of their personnel still come into them under the urge of Christian service. The trade union movement began in the non-conformist chapels of the industrial north and of Wales. Its first leaders were lay preachers, and the life of the local branch is still strongly reminiscent of the fellowship of the chapel, with its democratic methods and its concern for welfare.

England and Wales have had what very few countries in Christendom have possessed—a genuine working class culture, based originally on the chapel and now almost entirely on the typically working class institutions which grew under Christian inspiration—trade unions, cooperatives and friendly societies. These have been the peculiar gifts of the British churches to the nation. In regretting the degree in which they have lost touch with the people, the churches often overlook the fact that for churches to keep a firm hold on such institutions, as has been done in Catholic countries, leads to the danger of secularizing the church (whose official leaders are tied to serving tables) and to the inevitable rise of rival institutions, which in European experience are almost always Marxist and anticlerical.

In Britain the church is weak. Part of that weakness is due to its own failure and sin, for it is undeniable that many men and women have left it because they found there an emaciated pietism irrelevant to the great questions of the day. But many of these men and women serve the community through institutions which the church helped to create. The future seems to hold for the church the necessity of waiting in penitence and expectation for the sight of its next step. For the nation the unanswered question is whether the genius for creating the right means and institutions to meet an immediate need will stand us in good stead now.

Union in South India

By John J. Banninga

WORD has come that all three churches carrying on negotiations for union in south India have approved of the Proposed Scheme of Union (seventh edition, revised, 1942) and that their joint committee has met and drawn up final plans for the consummation of union. The churches concerned are the South India United Church (already a union of Congregational and Presbyterian bodies); the South India Provincial Synod of the Methodist Church (British, formerly Wesleyan); and the four diocesan councils of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon (Anglican). The importance of this action lies in the fact that here for the first time in history churches having congregational, presbyterian and episcopal polities have been brought together into one organic body. Should this experiment in union prove successful it will mean much to the whole Christian church throughout the world.

Negotiations for this union were begun in 1919 under the inspiring leadership of V. S. Azariah, bishop of Dornakal. Other Indian leaders were behind him all along the line. At one time more than a hundred of the most prominent Indian members of Protestant churches signed a manifesto urging the speedy consummation of this union. While it is true that several missionaries were active in preparing the Scheme of Union, they always recognized that this church was to be Indian, and they gladly followed the leadership of the Indian majorities in the various bodies dealing with the negotiations.

There were in all nineteen meetings of the joint committee, composed of fifteen members of each of the three negotiating churches. The first ten meetings were largely given up to preliminary discussions, based on communications from the "mother churches," from mission boards and from scholars of various countries. At the tenth meeting a carefully prepared Scheme of Union was adopted as the basis for further discussions. The final edition which was presented to the churches for their approval was the seventh. It contained two main parts: a draft basis of union representing the minds of the three uniting churches, and a draft constitution which will govern the church after union and can be modified in accordance with the provisions contained in it.

The resultant institution aims at being a comprehensive church embodying the fundamental principles of the three uniting churches. That means that there has been an attempt to include the best gifts of each of the polities—congregational, presbyterian and episcopal, or democratic, representative and monarchical—in one integrated body. While the structure of the church will be episcopal, much of its inner spirit will be derived from the other churches. The local congregation, the elected bodies and the bishops will share in the church government.

The two Testaments, the two sacraments (Lord's Supper and baptism), and the two creeds (Apostles' and Nicene) "as witnessing to and safeguarding the faith," were accepted by all without serious discussion. It is fully recognized that there are differences of interpretation and practice in connection with both creeds and sacraments, but great liberty will be given in the united church with reference to these things. No verbal interpretation is insisted on nor a uniform administration of the sacraments.

Supplementary to the two creeds, each congregation will be permitted to use any statements of faith to which it has been accustomed. No minister or member will be judged by any particular doctrinal interpretation of episcopacy, which has been accepted by the church as a historic institution but without doctrinal implications. Every church member may hold what doctrine he wishes, but he may not challenge another's right to hold another doctrine. Nor will the united church judge ministers of other churches according to whether they have episcopal government or not.

Status of the Ministry

The ordained ministers (called presbyters) of all the uniting churches are received into the united church without any ceremony, and will have equal status in the church, subject to the pledge that no man's conscience is to be violated in the exercise of his ministry. Some congregations will probably wish to retain the ministers and orders of service to which they are accustomed and they will be permitted to do so. The present bishops who will come into the church have issued a statement that they themselves will accept communion from the hands of any bishop or presbyter of the united church. Inasmuch as the future clergy of the united church will be ordained by the president of the diocesan council (a bishop), there will be no such conscientious objections to their ministry.

There will be no voting by houses, though doubtless the bishops will have large official and personal influence. The diocesan councils and the synod will be composed of representatives from the various churches and councils, and all decisions will be made by majority vote of all members. Certain questions of a fundamental nature dealing with constitution and doctrine must be finally decided by the synod, after certain delays and references to the diocesan councils. But neither bishops, presbyters nor laymen can by themselves stop any legislation which the majority of members desires.

Other Bodies May Join

The name by which the united Church will be known is "the Church of South India." It was fully recognized that there would be objections to such a name on the part of some members of other churches, but at the same time it was hoped that the majority of Protestant Christians in south India would soon be joined with the new body. Even now, except for the ancient Syrian churches, the united church includes a large proportion of Protestants in the area.

One provision of the Scheme of Union was the result of a good deal of difference of opinion. At one time the Anglicans urged that at the end of fifty years all ministers in the church should be episcopally ordained. This was not acceptable to the others, though at one meeting they agreed to it. At a later meeting, however, it was provided that at the end of thirty years the church itself should decide whether it wished to permit further exceptions to the rule or whether it would become a closed church. It was thought that after a third of a century's experience the church could best determine this matter for itself. But to guide it at that time it was decided that in reviewing the matter it should consider the two principles of a uniform ministry within the church and the desirability of continuing fellowship with non-episcopal churches. Meanwhile ministers not episcopally ordained may be received into the church without reordination by accepting the constitution, and such will continue in the church no matter what the vote may be thirty years hence.

Being itself a union church, this body will seek further union with other groups and will extend its fellowship as widely as possible. The Church of South India will not be a part of the Anglican communion. It will be a completely independent church, in fellowship with all churches that are willing to be in fellowship with it. It hopes to be recognized as a body that has its roots in several of the historic churches and is a real part of the Church Universal. One of its principles is: "The Church of South India desires . . . conserving all that is of spiritual value in its Indian heritage, to express under Indian conditions and in Indian forms the spirit, the thought, and the life of the Church Universal."

No New Confirmation

All members of the uniting churches become members of the united church. There will be no confirmation or other ceremony to fix their status in the new organization. Nor does confirmation become a part of the church's services. Those that have been accustomed to the rite will continue to use it; others will carry on their services for the reception of new members on their confession of faith. In the Malabar council of the present South India United Church confirmation is practiced by the pastors of the churches, and no doubt will be continued. Liberty is allowed in this matter as in others.

It was early in the history of negotiations that, on the recommendation of Prof. Vernon Bartlet of Mansfield College, Oxford, the S.I.U.C. representatives asked that presbyters take part in the consecration of bishops, thus signifying the union of all the ministries in the ministry of the church after union. This request caused a great deal of debate and was referred by the Anglicans to the Lambeth committee. At the 1930 Lambeth conference it was voted that such participation might be allowed "provided it was always understood and taught that the real consecrator was the bishop." The non-Anglicans could not accept this proviso. Attempts were made by individuals, by special committees and by groups of the various bodies to solve the problem, but finally the joint committee reached an impasse. Silence fell in the council room, heads were bowed in prayer. After some minutes the Bishop of Nasik arose and in a quiet voice said, "I wonder if this would do." And he read a brief statement to the effect that the clause should read, "provided it is always understood and taught that the consecrator is God." All felt that this idea was an answer to prayer. It was

unanimously approved and stands in the constitution today. This was only one of many instances in which the committee was conscious of divine guidance.

At the meeting of the joint committee in December 1946 plans were made for the inauguration of the union. It is hoped that all arrangements can be made so that the inaugural service can be held in September 1947. New bishops will be chosen by a specially appointed committee, inasmuch as the diocesan councils will not be formed until after the bishops have been appointed. Nominations for the office of bishop will be made by the now existing bodies, and from that list the special committee will select the necessary number. There are at present five bishops in the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon who will come into the new church, but it is proposed that there be fifteen or sixteen dioceses and hence nine or ten new bishops will have to be appointed. As far as possible they will be Indians. The consecration of bishops will take place at the inaugural service, at which each church, through its delegated appointee, will place on the altar a signed document accepting the new constitution. A communion service will follow, during which the new bishops will be consecrated.

Three months of preparation will be observed by the three churches. By prayer, meditation and special services ministers and members will consecrate themselves to the great venture upon which they are entering. They know it will not be easy. There will be differences of opinion; there will be delicate adjustments to make. Also, there will be fairly large financial obligations that the church in India will not be able to meet alone; but mission boards have all along approved of the union and they will certainly stand by the union when it is consummated. All the work will be church-centered and that will make for strength. United, the churches will be able to face the new responsibilities and the new opportunities that a free India will give them, and they will go forward in faith in the God who led them through the past decades in spite of isolation, fewness of numbers, lack of physical resources and workers. They will go forward into the new day, believing that it will be a day of promise and fulfillment.

The Atrocity of Mass Expulsions

By Alexander Boeker

SHOCKINGLY little protest has been heard in the Christian world against one of the most barbarous atrocities of the past two years: the wholesale uprooting and deportation of millions of human beings in eastern Germany, the Sudetenland, Hungary, eastern Poland and the Balkans. To be sure, high ecclesiastical authorities, both Protestant and Catholic, have issued courageous and moving appeals against this inhuman practice, but the response among Christian congregations has been disappointingly small. There have been no mass protests, and little direct aid has been given to the victims.

The press is largely to blame for this apathy. The volume of news about the mass expulsions which has seen print in this country is infinitesimal, and this despite the fact that few more "newsworthy" events have happened even in this agitated age. Think of the headlines if some power suddenly decided to expel, on two hours' notice, the entire population of our three west coast states! Imagine the situation if, within the space of a year, thirty million destitute refugees descended on these shores! Our cities have not been bombed, but how could we house them? Our industries are intact, but how could we employ so many? Yet this is precisely what has been happening in Europe since the spring of 1945, and our metropolitan papers have rarely deemed it worth more than two paragraphs on page seven.

American correspondents stationed in Europe are the eyes and ears of the American people. It is hard to believe that they have been wholly unaware of these happenings. Even the most ignorant foreign correspondent in New York would notice it if a million starved and ragged human beings landed there tomorrow. We must assume, therefore, either that our newsmen did not want to report what they saw or that their editors did not want to publish what they reported. There were notable exceptions, of course. Anne O'Hare McCormick, one of the best informed and most responsible of our news writers, has frequently discussed the expulsions in the *New York Times,* and William Philip Simms, the veteran Scripps-Howard editor, has occasionally mentioned them in his column.

Why do the rest of our reporters and editors maintain silence? Lingering wartime hatreds may account for some suppression of news, although by no means all the victims of this nationalistic mania are Germans. There are also Poles, Hungarians, Finns and many other nationalities—anyone who gets in the way of a temporarily dominant group.

Why a 'Conspiracy of Silence'?

The real reason for this "conspiracy of silence," we must assume, is the general weariness of war, suffering and atrocities. Reporters, editors and, above all, the reading public itself want good and cheerful news. They want to believe that the war was not fought in vain, that the Four Freedoms and the principles of the Atlantic Charter have triumphed, that the crimes of the Hitlers and Mussolinis are a thing of the past. Nothing is more unpleasant than to discover that they continue to flourish unchecked in our own camp. So we shut our eyes and stop our ears and bury our heads in sand.

Politicians and statesmen seem deaf to the argument that this attitude invites disaster. There is no way of convincing them except to vote them out of power. But Christians must be their brothers' keepers or they cease to be followers

of Christ. This is the heavy responsibility of Christian publications, of Christian ministers and of Christian individuals in this dark age following the Second World War. They must not be afraid to speak the truth even where it hurts. They must not shrink from rendering aid even where it is unpopular. They must not be afraid of facing the facts even where the facts are grim beyond human imagination. As in the early days of Christianity, they must be the salt of the earth and the leaven in the dough.

Man's Inhumanity to Man

What are the grim facts? Partly by agreement among the Big Three, partly by the fiat of local tyrants imitating their big brothers, more than twenty million human beings have, in the space of the past two years, been systematically uprooted from their ancient and rightful homes, despoiled of all their belongings—farms, workshops, homes, furniture, clothing, foodstocks, books and cash — and driven into an utterly hopeless future in strange lands they had never before seen. Families have been separated, communities have been torn asunder, men and young women have been carried off into slavery. People of all ages, classes and creeds have been maltreated, starved, and often crippled in concentration camps no better than Belsen and Buchenwald. Countless numbers, perhaps millions, have perished miserably along the roads of eastern Europe. These were chiefly the old and the very young.

This picture is not the product of a diseased imagination. These are the hard facts, well documented and fully attested by hundreds and thousands of trustworthy witnesses. The churches and relief groups in all the countries affected have collected abundant data. The Protestant and Catholic churches in Germany, in particular, have written detailed reports, many of which have reached the United States despite the embargo on communications of this kind. The German Red Cross, the International Red Cross and the Quakers have added to our knowledge of this latest example of man's inhumanity to man.

A Tragic Report

Here is one such report, written by a doctor from eastern Brandenburg. This area of Germany was taken over by the new Polish state, in accordance with the Potsdam verdict. Now that spring is coming again, read what he wrote in the early spring only a year ago.

> The Germans in the towns and throughout the countryside received orders to leave their homes on very short notice. Their baggage was not to weigh more than 10 pounds. Polish militia and military police hurried the people along with riding whips and kicks. Houses were often closed within 15 or 20 minutes after the occupants received evacuation orders. Plundering and willful destruction began immediately. The seriously ill and the aged had to be left behind without any medical help or care. In one town the old people who remained were forced to leave their houses and sit on the curbstone. The Poles called out to them, "Go find an old shot-up tank, then you will have a house!"
>
> All the evacuees congregated on the road. Their baggage was loaded on baby carriages and handcarts. There was only rarely a horsedrawn vehicle for the old or the sick. Young girls were assaulted by the soldiers. There were daily robberies. Horses were taken away so that the people had to push or pull the heavy wagons. They were stripped of baggage, suitcases, beds, shoes, provisions. Many women were raped. At Frankfort-on-the-Oder, men arrived without shoes and trousers, wearing only underclothing. Some of the women had their clothes literally torn off them. The accompanying soldiers used their whips and fists on the people. The chances for any kind of resistance were very slim. Where they had been driven out, villages lay in ruins and there was no cattle to be seen.
>
> Always they were on the march, sometimes in driving rain. It was impossible to dry any clothing. Barns provided the best shelter, but more often the people huddled in cellars or ruins or simply stayed in the open. Babies were born in ditches by the roadside. The smallest children died for lack of milk. In Landsberg we buried many. Mostly the dead lay in roadside ditches. After a while old people broke down completely and begged the younger ones to go on without them.
>
> At Gusow many people waited through the night for a slow passenger train. One arrived, and soldiers jumped down from the roofs of the cars, out of the coaches, on to the platform. Each sought out a victim. Coats, suitcases and bundles were torn away and taken into the train. There was great confusion, fighting and screaming. Then the train pulled out, but not before a number of women had been dragged aboard and thrown into compartments. One mother was torn from her child. The little one remained on the platform, without a home, and now without a mother.
>
> Homeless, uprooted from their native soil, the people wander along the highways. Sick, exhausted, covered with vermin, they somehow press forward toward one goal—a new home. But wherever they go, they are turned away, ordered on, misdirected, brought back for new instructions, and then ordered on again.

This is the report of but one man, but all reports tell more or less the same story. Here then is the face of the new ultra-nationalisms, the post-Hitlerian nazisms, which are rapidly destroying in eastern Europe the last vestiges of civilization left after six years of fighting. But the disease is not confined to eastern Europe. The hapless hordes of expellees are mostly driven into the western zones of Germany, bringing with them their misery, their diseases and their bitterness of mind. Wherever they go they increase the wretchedness of the local inhabitants by sharing their crowded homes, their scarce food, their few pieces of clothing and furniture. Thus an entire nation is being systematically dragged down into such poverty as no civilized country has known in centuries.

Here Democracy Cannot Grow

Can civilized values, can democracy and tolerance grow in such an environment? To pose the question is to answer it. One thing is sure: when people are reduced to such wretchedness that they feel they have nothing to lose, they are ever ready to follow the Pied Piper who tells them that they only stand to gain by gathering around his banners. Will the piper this time be nazism? Will it be communism? Most probably it will be a combination of both—the same vicious combination that we now see rampant in the new Poland, the new Czechoslovakia, the new Yugoslavia, and in the Soviet Union itself.

To attribute this latest form of international crime solely or primarily to Russia or to communism would, however, be a grave error. It is totalitarian nationalism, right and left, that is to blame. The diplomatic history of the war has not yet been sufficiently revealed to permit more than tentative judgments as to who first suggested and principally promoted the mass expulsions. It is certain, however, that Russia and her present satellites, if indeed they originated this fiendish proposal, were met more than halfway by the leaders of the great Anglo-Saxon democracies.

On November 17, 1944, long before Stalin forced his own solution upon the western powers at Yalta and Potsdam, Mr. Roosevelt wrote to Mr. Mikolajczyk: "If the Polish government and people desire in connection with the new frontiers of the Polish state to bring about the transfer to and from territory of Poland of national minorities, the United States government will raise no objection and as far as practicable will facilitate such transfer." (Quoted from Ambassador Ciechanowski's recent book, *Defeat in Victory.*) And Roosevelt's wartime partner, Winston Churchill, told the House of Commons soon afterwards, on December 15, 1944: "The transference of several millions of people would have to be effected from the east to the west or north, as well as the expulsion of the Germans—because that is what is proposed: the total expulsion of the Germans—from the area to be acquired by Poland in the west and the north. For expulsion is the method which, so far as we have been able to see, will be the most satisfactory and lasting . . . A clean sweep will be made. I am not alarmed by the prospect of the disentanglement of populations, nor even by these large transferences, which are more possible in modern conditions than they ever were before."

This too Is a Crime

One might remark that Hitler's mass crematories also were "more possible in modern conditions than ever before," but that is hardly an argument in their favor. Nor, considering the results, is the comparison as far-fetched as it might seem. The London *Economist* of October 5, 1946, commented: "Crimes against humanity also include the mass expulsion of populations. Can the Anglo-Saxon leaders who at Potsdam condoned the expulsion of millions of Germans from their homes hold themselves completely innocent?" Indeed they cannot. For Count Three, Section J, of the Nuremberg indictments reads: "In certain occupied territories, purportedly annexed to Germany, the defendants methodically and pursuant to plan endeavored to assimilate those territories politically, culturally, socially and economically into the German Reich, and the defendants endeavored to obliterate the former national character of these territories. In pursuance of these plans and endeavors, the defendants forcibly deported inhabitants who were predominantly non-German and introduced thousands of German colonists."

Substitute "Slavic" for "German" and "millions" for "thousands," and you have an exact description of what is happening today. How can we claim that the Nuremberg verdict established rules of law if we apply these rules only to "enemies" and not to "allies"? Yet nobody has so far proposed that punishment shall be meted out to the criminal leaders of postwar Poland and Czechoslovakia, let alone to those in Anglo-Saxon countries who aided and abetted their crimes against humanity.

Relief and remedial action, however, are the real need of the hour. Punishment, like vengeance, is the Lord's. If the Christian conscience of the world wakes up in time, immeasurable suffering can yet be averted and many a wrong undone. True, the expulsion of ten million people from eastern Germany, of four million from Czechoslovakia, of nearly three million from the Balkans and Hungary, and of over three million from eastern Poland are all but completed. But few of the treaties intended to sanction these crimes have yet been signed. An aroused public can prevent their acceptance and bring about their eventual modification. Frontiers have not yet been finally drawn. Depopulated provinces have not yet been resettled. Millions of expellees still may be given a chance to return to the homes which are dearer to them than all other worldly treasures. The determined voice of organized Christianity may yet penetrate the iron curtain and reach the Moscow conference.

But whatever can be accomplished in this way, a tragic residue of misery and hopelessness will remain. Millions will never return to their homes, whatever political arrangements are made. Their rehabilitation and integration into a new community will be a staggering task which can be solved only through an act of solidarity on the part of Christians throughout the world. This task, if it is to be well done, will demand heavy sacrifices for many years to come. We Christians of whatever nationality should be happy to shoulder these sacrifices as a means of atonement for our common guilt. So we may yet find a new spirit of universal brotherhood, and the tears of the suffering may yet become tears of joy.

BOOKS

War and Peace

THE PHILOSOPHY OF WAR AND PEACE. *By Albert C. Knudson. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, $2.00.*

SUBTITLED "A Basic Guide to understanding the underlying Causes of War and the Struggle for World Peace," this book excellently achieves the purpose for which it was written. In short compass and in succinct language its four chapters present numerous facts and helpful interpretations which should be familiar to all Christians in times like the present.

Chapter I is entitled "The Apologetic for War." In 36 pages Knudson explains the three main arguments for armed conflict by which war has often been justified, and ably refutes each. He demonstrates that neither the argument from human nature, nor the allegedly dynamic nature of the state, nor the presumed functional benefits of war can possibly justify resort to arms under modern conditions. ". . . the apologetic for war is at bottom a phase of philosophical irrationalism."

Chapter II is called "Modern Causes of War." In 54 pages the author lucidly surveys the phenomena of nationalism, imperialism, "race" superiority and overpopulation. Very effectively he demolishes the specious claim that modern wars are on the whole more materialistic than those of the past. (Marxians please take note!) Imperialism, he justly suggests, has a positive as well as a negative aspect to it. There is still a need for a period of tutelage for some primitive peoples. Toward the end of the chapter, Knudson makes some pertinent observations on certain extreme statements of Karl Barth, Emil Brunner and Reinhold Niebuhr.

Chapter III is entitled "Growth of the Argument for World Peace." In exactly 50 pages we are given a brilliant and accurate summation of the efforts of Western civilization to bring about world organization since the beginning of the Christian era. This is as good a brief summary of this im-

portant part of our cultural heritage as the reviewer has ever read.

Chapter IV is called "The Road to World Peace." In 57 pages Knudson summarizes the institutional history of the peace movement, including observations on the Concert of Europe, the balance of power, mediation and arbitration, disarmament, the outlawry of war, absolute pacifism, the League of Nations, the United Nations, and the spirit of cooperation on the world level. It is fine to see mention made of I. S. Bloch's remarkable book of 1897. Terse and accurate is the comparison between the Covenant of 1919 and the Charter of today. The chapter closes with an apt quotation from the Old Testament, Zechariah 4:6.

Despite the excellence of the book—and as to that there is no question—a few, perhaps minor, points may be raised. In discussing imperialism the author might well have mentioned W. L. Langer's notable two-volume work. Richard Hofstadter's recent study, as cited on page 87, does not have the full title given. In the treatment of the theories of "race" superiority there is no reference to Gobineau, surely the key figure in this aberration in the nineteenth century. It is the reviewer's impression that the estimated population of the world in 1630, as given on page 92, is low. Hugo Grotius' great work of 1625 is usually called, in our language, *The Law of War and Peace*, rather than by the phrase used four times by Knudson, e. g., on page 106. In the summation of the history of peace thinking there is no mention of the excellent book by Wynner and Lloyd, *Searchlight on Peace Plans* (1944). The author's treatment of William Ladd (p. 150) might have been expanded, and surely at least the name of Elihu Burritt might have been given.

Foreign Minister Castlereagh's attitude toward the Concert of Europe is better indicated by his feelings toward the Quadruple Alliance, which Knudson does not cite, than by his feelings about the Holy Alliance, which are mentioned on page 155. The summary of the Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907 does not make clear how feeble a reed was the so-called "permanent court" then established. The otherwise excellent bibliography does not include C. J. H. Hayes' important volume, *Essays in Nationalism*.

None of these comments, however, seriously detracts from Dr. Knudson's accomplishment in writing the book. As one who has specialized in this particular historical field for two decades, the reviewer recommends this volume as the best one for the non-professional historian that has ever come to his attention.

J. Duane Squires.

Books in Brief

Final Judgment, The Story of Nuremberg. *By Victor H. Bernstein. Boni & Gaer, $3.50.*

This is the most terrible book ever written. If it were less true, it would be less terrible. No ingenious catalogue of horrors, like Dante's pictures of the torments of hell, can have the force of this sober recital of facts. It is not primarily the story of the Nuremberg trials, but rather the story behind the trials, documented by the evidence brought forward at the trials. It is a more appalling book than *Mein Kampf*. That told what Hitler intended to do; this tells how he and his host of supporters did it. The first half of the book tells of the program of secret rearmament (before Hitler) and the plans for world domination by "genocide"—the extinction of non-German peoples that could not profitably be enslaved. The second half gives the more ghastly details (again supported by German documents) of concentration camp procedure, methods of sterilization, scientific experiments on human guinea pigs and mass murder. This is the record. One must read it to know what "denazification" means. Bernstein does not indict the whole German people. They also were victims, intimidated by their minority of would-be supermen, their minds poisoned, their hearts hardened. He is not hopeless of their recovery, but it will be a long process.

Autobiography of a Yogi. *By Paramhansa Yogananda. Philosophical Library, $3.50.*

Hindu philosophy is here expounded from the inside, by a practicing yogi, with anecdotal illustrations of the marvelous physical manifestations of its power as well as exposition of its spiritual benefits. The author tells of the life of his guru, Sri Yukteswar Giri, as well as his personal experiences and observations. The narrative is filled with what, in any other context, would be called magic. One Hindu saint floats in the air; another raises the dead; another, a woman, has existed in good health since 1880 without food or drink by employing "a certain yoga technique to recharge her body with cosmic energy from the ether, sun and air." This last will not teach her method of living without food because "farmers would not thank me" for ruining the market for their produce. But couldn't this difficulty be surmounted by teaching the farmers first? Certainly their social security would be complete if they did not need to eat. The authenticity of this sixty-year fast is unquestionable because it has been "rigorously investigated by the Maharaja of Burdwan."

Books Received

(Some of these will be reviewed)

Smith Unbound, A Conversation Piece. Macmillan, $2.50. "Smith" is any college freshman. His emancipation is to be from the cramping mold into which the authors conceive that orthodox education will cast him. The liberating process is expounded in clever dialogue—almost too clever to be entirely clear at all points. But a definite curriculum comes out at last. The whole material of education through the sixteenth year is to consist of the following books and men: a historical atlas, Euclid, Bach, a history of domestic architecture and decoration, the Bible (A.V.), the New Testament and the *Colloquies* of Erasmus in Latin, Rabelais, Shakespeare, the Oxford Dictionary, the Analects of Confucius, a history of the alphabet, *Gulliver's Travels*, the *Odyssey*, and reproductions of Dürer's and Rembrandt's pictures. Which shows how easily a "great books" course may degenerate into an idiosyncratic program. But the book is useful for starting an argument, and that was doubtless the intention.

Let the Patterns Break. By Lilith Lorraine. Avalon Press, Rogers, Ark. A collection of the author's poems, about 400, all or most of which have been published in her previous volumes during the past ten years. She has also written books on the technique of poetry writing. Mrs. Lorraine's poetry shows a sound philosophy of life, a high idealism, a firm belief that poetry should be intelligible as well as imaginative, and practiced skill in versification.

Carthaginians, Romans and Americans, Overseas with the 355th AAA SLT BN. Karl W. Scheufler, editor. Karl W. Scheufler, 1521 Dana Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio, $3.00. As the record of a battalion—its personnel, training, service, and sights and experiences in the field overseas—this is nearly perfect. Chaplain Scheufler has done a wonderful job for his outfit. The battalion served in North Africa, Sicily and Italy, and the 500 pictures are a picture-book of these regions as well as of the scenes of camp and field. Contributions financed the rather expensive publication and every member of the 355th gets one free. Others may buy copies at a price that is low, size and quality of the book considered.

The Turn of the Tide. By H. M. Tomlinson. Macmillan, $2.50.

Harps in the Wind, The Story of the Singing Hutchinsons. By Carol Brink. Macmillan, $3.50. It would be a pleasure to write a full page about this volume. It brings back to life a forgotten family of American musicians, and in doing so it brings back also some aspects of American social history. The Hutchinsons were

one of those families in which everyone sings and plays one or two instruments. Parents and children and grandchildren, brothers and sisters and cousins—their family tree bore music on every branch. Beginning in 1842, for the next sixty years there were always Hutchinsons making their bows and taking their encores. They did not do much toward cultivating the popular taste for classical music, for apparently they had little themselves. But they sang the ballads that America liked, and evidently sang them well, and they made England like them too. The singing of "God Save the Queen" and "Yankee Doodle" in alternating verses went over big at Covent Garden. They not only gave concerts; they also gave their talents to "causes"—abolition, temperance, woman's rights—and brightened many a rally with melody.

Pattern for World Revolution. By "Ypsilon." Ziff-Davis Pub. Co., $3.50.

Palestine, A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies. Published for the Esco Foundation for Palestine. 2 vols. Yale University Press, $12.00.

Pilgrim of the Absolute. By Léon Bloy. Edited by Raissa Maritain. Pantheon Books, $3.50.

CORRESPONDENCE

Shall Churches Be Exempted?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your uncompromising position on the parochial school bus question makes me wonder whether you are actually willing to follow the implications of your position to the logical conclusion and advocate the elimination of all special exemptions and privileges granted to churches, private schools, and other similar institutions. Surely there is no difference in principle between furnishing free bus service to pupils of a parochial school and furnishing free fire protection to its buildings, for which other property owners pay taxes. And if the state is to waive income taxes on income contributed to its support, and thus give very real indirect financial aid without any control over the use of the money, is it any worse if the assistance is in the form of a free service where there is at least some assurance that public ends are served? If a vital principle is at stake in the furnishing of school bus service, then the only way to honor the principle is to do away with all exemptions and special privileges, so that institutions pay property taxes on their holdings and individuals pay income taxes on income contributed.

If on the other hand the state is justified in encouraging private educational, religious and other institutions by various types of direct and indirect subsidy, then the form and degree of such subsidy cannot be limited by any appeal to principle, but only by the judgment of the representatives of the people as to what will in the long run further the welfare and freedom of the people. The only principle that must be satisfied is that assistance be available to groups of all faiths and opinions. Such assistance cannot, of course, be demanded as a matter of right, but only requested as a matter of grace; its tender cannot be condemned on principle, only questioned as perhaps an undue delegation of the functions of the state.

To be sure, a pro rata division of school tax funds would certainly be going too far towards leaving education in the hands of private and church groups. But a substantial contribution per pupil to such private schools as meet proper standards need not, at least in principle, necessarily involve any establishment of a religion or discrimination based on creed, although it might in practice work out to the disadvantage of the smaller, more scattered and narrower sects. It is entirely a matter of what is considered to be the proper relative roles of public and private schools, and how great a financial sacrifice should be required of a private group if it wishes to have control over the education of its children.

Far more substantial and more discriminatory than the supplying of free bus service is the subsidy involved in permitting gifts to be deducted on income tax returns. As it works out, for every $1 that the wealthy man gives, the government matches with $4 of tax money, while for the average taxpayer the matching is only $1 of government money to each $4 that the individual contributes, and for the widow's mite there is no matching by the government at all. That the rich man's philanthropies should be subsidized more than the poor man's is to my mind a good deal harder to rationalize than free school buses. Are you not straining at a gnat without even noticing the camel that is well on its way to being comfortably digested?

Scarsdale, N. Y. WILLIAM VICKREY.

[(1) Fire protection of all buildings in the community is plainly a protection of the whole community against the spread of the fire. It is not analagous to the transportation of children to a parochial school. (2) Income tax deduction for gifts to churches is at least of doubtful constitutionality. (3) For our comment on property tax exemption, see editorial in this issue, "Churches Should Pay Taxes!"—THE EDITORS.]

Wanted—A Way Out

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Thank you and Paul Hutchinson for those illuminating articles that have been appearing from time to time these past months. I have been following them with great interest and profit.

At the end of "Churches in the Postwar World" (March 26) Dr. Hutchinson summarizes with four conclusions which prompt this letter. I am not differing with him. In the main I think he is right. But are we to leave it there? If not, what is the next step?

I cannot help but wish that some of those brethren who compass the globe in their travels and pile up the problems in their writings would come back to a parish church and demonstrate to the rest of us the way out of the fix we are in.

Joyce Memorial Methodist Church, Minneapolis, Minn. OLIN D. JACKSON.

The Way to Unite

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In your editorial, "A Letter to the Churches" (March 19 issue), you challenge the churches to accept the Federal Council's proposal for immediate union among the denominations which recognize each other's ministries and sacraments. I want to make my answer to your challenge brief.

I am not entirely blind to the many great involvements that would go with church union at this time, as we in this community have united three Methodist churches in the past two years, and then divided into two churches in order to make Methodism serve the community better.

I would answer your "letter" and the Federal Council's proposal with an emphatic yes. The only way to unite is to unite and then surmount with God's help the many hurdles that will rise up. It can be done, it should be done, and I believe that it will be done because it is for the betterment of Protestantism—and of Catholicism as well.

Wesley Methodist Church, La Crosse, Wis. W. ROSS CONNER.

Catholics Are Americans

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: History shows that Roman Catholics once rebelled against their church and so became Protestants. History will repeat itself if we start now to alienate its constituency from Rome. I have the feeling that Protestants, instead of attacking the Roman Church and stirring up the sense of loyalty in its members, should start weaning them away from those loyalties by the old method of open attack on the hierarchy's policies in religion and in the state, always remembering that to them the clergy is the church.

What I am suggesting is that, in our minds, we separate the Roman Catholic from his church and think of him as an Amer-

ican; that we sell him the idea of the American system of public education, and then point out that it is foolish to support two systems and in the end upset the one government on earth that gives freedom and opportunity to all. Catholics helped to build America and in the process they have learned something new and different and desirable. Why not suggest to them that other generations rebelled against the pretensions of the clergy and the papacy and that they are at least as good as their fathers were? The papacy as a legalistic, autocratic religious system is worse today than it was in the days of Luther.

I do not think we will get anywhere by putting all Catholics on the defensive. Let us put the church and its clergy on the defensive in America. Many Catholics already fear and criticize their own church government. Why not play on that while preaching Christ and him crucified?

Charleston, Ill. DANIEL L. ECKERT.

We Almost Lost Him!

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Stanley High's article was just about the deciding factor in persuading me not to keep up my subscription to The Christian Century. Since the election of a layman to the office of president of the Federal Council of Churches it has become the style in numerous religious publications to laud the layman and paste the preacher. I thought you were just keeping in style. I had enjoyed The Christian Century because it frequently had the courage to take the side which was out of style. Your editorial, "Laymen in Church Affairs," clears up the matter in your paper, but I expect that others will continue to follow the style of the moment. That is the present-day approach to a demand which says, Give us religion without theology. It is the preacher's theological training and convictions which make it easier for laymen to unite than for preachers to do so. But unity based on lack of conviction is hardly a desirable unity.

I enclose my renewal.

Lewiston, Mont. SAMUEL G. ENGLISH.

New World of Labor

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It's about time for us to think constructively about our "labor problem." Mr. Hutchinson, in his editorial "Labor in the Postwar World" (March 19 issue), presents an excellent discussion of the background of the present situation. Most of us are clinging blindly to the old order and refusing to understand, or even acknowledge, the dynamic forces which produce a changing society. Even if we succeed, for a time, in fighting off labor and its bid for power, we must still deal with a world predominantly collectivistic.

The fact that the Roman Catholics are attempting to effect more peaceful capital-labor relations demonstrates again the failure of Protestants to accept as their responsibility the improvement of society. While the churches may be able to present no perfect solution, they should investigate the problem with an eye for the fair and just approach to the situation.

Ottawa University, ROBERT E. WIGHTMAN.
Ottawa, Kan.

The Voice of Hunger

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The sign of hunger is written large across Europe. Another sign, of bewilderment, moves across the faces of young people the world over. It is seldom seen, seldom understood, for the task of providing bread, shoes and roofs for destitute people overshadows all else.

These months are the hunger months. UNRRA ceased shipping supplies in January, and there is as yet no international agency to take its place. Voluntary groups are trying to meet the extra needs rising in the interim period between the closing of UNRRA and the organization of new governmental aid. It is a tremendous job. It can hardly be met. There is little time for reading small signs.

In Austria, in one of the rest homes for trade union apprentices where Quaker workers are helping to provide food and rest and games for young workers, one apprentice wrote an "open letter from Austrian youth to the older generation": "Always you are thinking you can advise us and convert us. But you forget that we lived in a time when the war torch was flaming, that we have been in a world reddened with blood, and that we were killers or martyrs. You forget that we lived in a time in which we lost everything.

"You have known this world in peacetime. You have known the better days, you were familiar with them, allied with them. For you this all seemed to be only a horrible dream. But for us it was life. When we were born, there was nothing but hunger and death, and they are still around us, and will be, who knows for how long a time still. We don't know your pretty past and because of that we don't believe in the future. We are rushed on by the storm of time—where to and what for, we do not know.

"The world you grew up in was a world of peace and plenty. The world in which we are growing up is a world of war and violence. We have had written on our banners ideas we did not really know. We fought for a life which we never experienced, never really felt the pulse of. We had to follow leaders we did not really choose ourselves. That is why we push always forward, and pay no attention to your good words—because we have no desire to know the truth; the bond of understanding is lacking in us. We can't lose anything, but we always hope to get something."

American Friends Service Committee, ELSIE HINES.
Philadelphia, Pa.

No Security in Arms

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I heartily thank you for the stirring article "American Militarism" by H. C. Holdridge. It is indeed encouraging to read such words from a retired military man. He has given us an excellent summary of the reasons why a great many people are opposed to universal military conscription. To read from the pen of one whose lifework has been militarism that "there is no longer any security in armaments" and that "the only line of national security is the diplomatic line, leading to world understanding," is to feel a new eagerness to stand up and be counted. Mr. Holdridge has rendered an invaluable service to the cause of democracy, morality and the very existence of life on this planet. If there is any answer to his argument let us hear it. I hope that you will have reprints available. If so, I will see that every home of this congregation has a copy.

First Church of the Brethren, BERNARD N. KING.
York, Pa.

A Layman on Laymen

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: As a layman, let me add my enthusiastic voice to your important campaign to extend the subscription of The Christian Century to more laymen throughout the country. I see no reason why your paper, now so influential nationally among the clergy, should not become equally so among the laymen—to promote better understanding between layman and minister, to present opinions of laymen through lay correspondents and to offer articles by laymen. More power to you!

Wisconsin Council of Churches, ELLIS H. DANA.
Madison, Wis. Executive Vice-President.

Prayer, Pens and Plain Speech

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Hearty congratulations on your courageous and timely editorial, "An Absolute No!" If there was ever a time when the Christian conscience should use such plain language it is now. I believe you are voicing the deep convictions of all who love Christ and his Kingdom. Such unilateral action as is proposed by President Truman threatens, as you suggest, to torpedo the U.N. and invite war. It is a time for prayer, pens and postage stamps.

First Methodist Church, LEWIS H. DAVIS.
Torrington, Conn.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Japanese Leaders Eye Christianity

Members of Nobility and Other National Figures Evince Interest in New Religion—An Election Nears

TOKYO, March 3.—A number of members of the Japanese nobility and other national leaders are evincing increased interest in Christianity. Among them are Prince Takamatsu, younger brother of Emperor Hirohito and a friend of the Japanese Christian pastor T. Kanazawa, and Prince Takeda, the emperor's cousin. Prince Kaya has begun regular attendance at the Reinanzaka Church in Tokyo, of which Moderator Kozaki of the Kyodan is pastor. Last fall New Testaments were presented to all members of the Diet, and recently the Japan Bible Society, of which K. Hirai is president, presented a complete Bible to Emperor Hirohito.

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Prepare for New Election

With another election in the offing, so many members of the Diet have scurried back to their bailiwicks to mend their political fences that the current session of the national legislative body is being popularly described as the "truant parliament." Surveys and predictions seem to indicate that the rightist Liberal party will again gain a plurality of the seats. Earlier it was believed that the Social Democrats would emerge as the leading party, but they have alienated the farmers and fishermen, chief beneficiaries of the current inflation, by talk of freezing the "new yen." The Progressives, also a conservative party, are expected to lose around 35 of their present 112 seats. The Yoshida cabinet's popularity has waned considerably during the past two months, but the ebbtide seems to have been reached. In a poll conducted a month ago by the newspaper *Asahi* among 204,880 Japanese of all classes, 45 per cent favored the Social Democrats and 5 per cent the Communists. Approximately 60 per cent of the white collar workers were anti-cabinet, while business men, landowners and farmer-owners favored the present regime. Labor was 96 per cent for the Social Democrats. Communists, who at present hold 6 seats, predict that they will win at least 50 and are expected to obtain a maximum of 15. The repatriates from Russian-held territories, who will vote for the first time in this election, were exposed to considerable Communist propaganda, but it is reported that since in the main they came from conservative Japanese rural areas the exposure didn't take too well.

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For or Against Controls?

Theoretically, the issue among the three major parties is the choice between private enterprise and free economy, with a minimum of social planning and government controls (as favored by the Liberals and Progressives), and nationalization of key industries, extensive socialization of governmental functions and strict planning and controls on a permanent basis (as advocated by the Social Democrats). Actually, the vote will rather be a test of the people's confidence in the ability of the present party machinery to restore Japan's political and social economy by whatever means can be found.

* * *

Inflation Shows No Sign Of Abating

On Jan. 31 the total amount of Bank of Japan notes issued passed the 100,000,000,000 yen mark—double the figure of a year ago. The increase has been brought about by public expenditures and generous loans for the development of industry. Japan's industrial capacity, it is reported, has shrunk to 30 per cent of the prewar level, and the heavy drain on basic materials without immediate prospect of replenishment creates a grim picture. Many experts declare that in immediate settlement of the reparations problem lies the only hope of checking the spiral of inflation and halting complete destruction of the nation's economy. It is estimated that the 1947-48 government budget will approximate 115,000,000,000 yen. Government-sponsored lotteries are expected to total more than 1,500,000,000 yen by the end of this month. So many protests have been made against the practice of obtaining revenue by lotteries that the matter of discontinuing them is being discussed.

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Some Wage Increases Are Granted

Following General MacArthur's refusal to permit the threatened Feb. 1 strike of 2,000,000 government workers, union leaders agreed to accept the government's proposals as a temporary measure, although expressing dissatisfaction with them. The annual wage scale has been raised from 7,200 to 12,000 yen, and the exemption point on income taxes has been raised. The government has also signed with the Federation of Government Railway Workers' Union a contract which calls for a 48-hour week, acknowledgment of the single-union setup and equal rights for men and women workers. The settlement is expected to be a precedent for later contracts with other union groups.

* * *

And So Forth

The battle between the "bureaucrats" and those who are attempting to clean house in the government faced a showdown this month when 350 officials of the communications ministry resigned in protest against the minister's order calling for investigation of the renting of a ministry building for use as a dance hall for alleged private profit by certain officials. The story is that there was danger that the investigation would ferret out further irregularities. Records show that between September 1945 and December 1946 4,500 public officials were indicted for abuse of their offices.

At a meeting of leaders of Christian schools at Aoyama Gakuin here in mid-January, it was decided to continue on a private, Christian basis despite the competition to be offered by the new compulsory and free state education program. The schools will revamp their schedules and set up four-year college courses. Most of the schools are experiencing "growing pains."

HERMAN J. KREGEL.

Says Communists Back India Riots

Methodist Bishop of Bombay Area Tells of 'Divide and Conquer' Method, Reports Moslem Disillusion

CHICAGO, March 28.—During a visit here last week, Bishop John A. Subham of the Bombay area of the Methodist Church declared that Communists are instigating the Hindu-Moslem rioting in India. "They are making great inroads among the laboring classes because they promise to better their horrible living conditions," he said. "They have established free food kitchens and are trying to improve the lot of the poorer classes. But their method is that of strife and dividing to conquer. They are abetted by those who are strongly pro-British and insist that the Moslem-Hindu controversy is too deep to be healed." Bishop Subham, who was born into a liberal Moslem family and had become a Sufi before his conversion to Christianity, declared that an increasing number of Mohammedans are realizing the futility of their demand for a separate state, and that because of the riots the Moslem League no longer has the sympathy of the majority of Moslems. Bishop Subham foresees persecution of Christians in India, believing that legislation to be passed after independence is final will prevent missionaries from seeking converts. However, he is certain that Christianity, which doubled its membership between 1911 and 1946, will carry on in India regardless of what restrictions may be imposed.

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C.I.O. Conference Encounters Racial Discrimination

The current issue of the *Packinghouse Worker*, published here, reports an interracial situation in connection with the C.I.O. national education conference in Columbus, Ohio, which has a bearing on the meetings of many other national bodies with Negro members. On March 16 a panel on the race question in connection with the conference had been scheduled. Before it opened, however, four Negro delegates were refused service in the dining room of the Niel House, although the management had promised that Negro members would be cared for without discrimination. Thereupon, 150 members of the conference came to the dining room at 7:30 a.m. and sat there until 4:30 p.m., waiting for the Negroes, who had entered first, to be served. Customers on finding the dining room filled and being told that the delegates were "waiting for breakfast" were cooperative when the circumstances were explained to them. The management blamed the refusal of service entirely on employees. The picture of Lincoln in the lobby of the hotel added irony to the situation.

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County Institutions Found In Sad Condition

On a tour of inspection of Chicago's once model juvenile detention home, the juvenile home and court committee of the county board of commissioners found the institu-

tion fallen into disrepair and disrepute. It recommended the employment of additional help, better salaries to retain highly trained personnel, the replacement of nine portable schoolhouses which lack washrooms and satisfactory heat, and additional recreational facilities. However, these recommendations do not touch the deep needs realized by those close to the juvenile court and home. A threatened strike of nurses at Cook County hospital was averted last week when the county board of commissioners agreed to hire 200 additional nurses and shorten the work week from 48 to 44 hours. Because of the shortage of nurses, patients have had to put up with cold food and unchanged linen. It is doubtful that the hospital will be able to secure anything like the required number of nurses.

* * *

Find Sordid Conditions In City's Lockups

A study of Chicago's police lockups made by the John Howard association at the request of the City club reveals sorry conditions. Five police stations have their cell blocks underground, despite a state law prohibiting such an arrangement, and many of the stations violate the regulation requiring 25 feet of floor space per person. Fire regulations are ignored, and sanitation, health and food requirements are flouted. The joker is that the state laws provide for no enforcement. Nine stations condemned by the city health department as unsanitary 23 years ago are still in use. When confronted with the report, Police Commissioner Prendergast said that the city has appropriated $2,000,000 for new police and fire stations, but that material shortages have held up construction. The city council passed a resolution calling upon the police, health and building commissioners to correct the conditions within 60 days. The John Howard association and the Illinois federation of women's clubs have joined in urging legislation to give state inspectors power to close stations found unsatisfactory, and the City club has submitted to the police commissioner eight recommendations to improve the situation.

* * *

And So Forth

Measures to remedy the blight upon residential property in or near the center of the city are not in sight in any present laws for slum clearance or rehabilitation, Walter H. Blucher told the Metropolitan housing council at its annual meeting last week.

The Brethren service center at Nappanee, Ind., has developed a soap-making enterprise that is turning out a ton of soap a day for overseas relief. The Church World Service center is distributing 5-gallon cans for collecting used fats for the center.

Granger Westberg, chaplain of Augustana hospital, has been conducting a series of conferences and seminars on pastoral counseling and personalized ministry in Washington, Portland, Minnesota and Kansas. CHARLES L. VENABLE.

Mennonite Refugees Sail for Paraguay

Approximately 2,300 Mennonite refugees sailed recently from Bremerhaven, Germany, for Buenos Aires on a vessel chartered by the American Mennonite Central Committee. The refugees will join other Mennonites on farms in Paraguay.

Say World Council Aid Must Persist

Meeting in Switzerland, Reconstruction Secretaries from 17 Nations Hear Reports on Continuing Needs

GENEVA, March 24.—A conviction that the churches of the world must and will continue for several years the program of interchurch aid came out of the second annual conference of ecumenical reconstruction secretaries sponsored in mid-March at Chèxbres, Switzerland, by the World Council of Churches. Fifty representatives from 17 nations discussed first-hand reports from all over the Continent. Frank Northam, the council's material aid director, spiked earlier hopes that the church relief program could end this year, and said the time when the flow of food and clothing can safely be halted is not yet at hand.

Where the Needs Lie

A representative from Vienna said that clothing cannot be purchased in Austria. Pointing to the end of UNRRA and the increase in zonal barriers, he declared that church relief will be needed at least until after the 1948 harvest. A recent visitor to the Balkans said that Rumania urgently needs food, medicine and clothing, and that food relief must continue for three years. Headquarters here has just heard that three pastors in that country have starved to death. Finland reported that the food situation will still be serious next year, and that the need for clothing is even more acute. From Poland came word that prospects are "grim" for the period between April and harvest time. The representative from Czechoslovakia said that food from abroad will be needed until the next harvest, and the one from Holland asked for used clothing, shoes and soap. Need for child-feeding programs was reported from Hungary.

Adolph Freudenberg, head of the council's work with refugees, predicted that the position of refugees and displaced persons will rapidly deteriorate in the near future. He urged Christians to seek a change in the International Refugee Organization's constitution which excludes people of "German-ethnic origin" from receiving aid from the agency. The council's major concern at this point is spiritual ministry to refugees. There are about 7,000,000 Protestant and Orthodox refugees.

What Is Being Done

Only the barest hint of the current ecumenical program as it was revealed in reports from the different nations can be given here. In Finmark, devastated region in the north of Norway, barracks homes have been built for all but two pastors. There is hope that a larger boat to replace the 46-foot vessel the council has provided can be found to serve as a movable chapel for the isolated fishing villages. Finland has received six barracks churches and would welcome many more; pastors there are using the 20 bicycles already sent but need hundreds more. In Poland, the ecumenical program has been broadened to include Orthodox and Old Catholic groups. The first of the many needed ecumenical youth centers has been set up, and in Warsaw a kitchen is serving 1,000 meals daily.

Holland, believing that "a non-giving church will die out," has sent aid to Indonesia, Hungary and Germany. Expressing thanks for aid in the form of funds to supplement pastors' salaries and for wooden churches, Belgian representatives described the great opportunities for evangelism in their nominally Catholic nation. The French delegates reported that 75 per cent of their countrymen are indifferent to Christianity and told of the continuing burden created by governmental and financial chaos and war fatigue. The German delegation thanked the council for recent gifts of paper to print Bibles. By encouraging self-help, the Germans hope to overcome the nation's apathy in the face of its bleak outlook. In Austria, one-third of the material relief received from abroad is being given to refugee congregations. The churches in Austria have been responsible for providing around 236,000 meals to persons on the brink of starvation.

Desire American Scholarships

Czechoslovakia has been enabled to send several ministerial students to the United States and to hold four interdenominational youth camps. Hungarians have secured fuel to keep Protestant schools open, and desire scholarships abroad for students. From Greece it was reported that 6,000 of the 7,150 Orthodox clergymen are "at poverty level." The churches there, however, are described as experiencing "a fresh burst of youthful vitality." Italian Protestants tried to repair their churches even before ecumenical aid arrived. The size of their task in the face of the present inflation is apparent when it is realized that rebuilding a Milan church will now cost more than $200,000.

Continuing Gifts Reported

On the giving side, encouraging reports came from churches in the United States, Canada, England, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, New Zealand, Brazil, South Africa and Iceland. Total of postwar gifts by churches in the United States is $26,000,000, of which half has gone through ecumenical channels. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, general secretary of the council, admitted that each ecumenical committee naturally has its difficulties, but declared that the working cooperation of 100 church bodies is "nothing short of a miracle." Robbins W. Barstow, director of Church World Service, said that the American ecumenical relief agency is now planning through 1952. Henry C. Koch, another C.W.S. leader, declared that American churches can do even more in sending gifts in kind. He believes that they have not yet fully explored the use of young people in European reconstruction.

The high spiritual point of the conference was a communion service held in the village Reformed church. It was conducted by J. Hutchison Cockburn, director of the council's reconstruction department and a former moderator of the Church of Scotland; Alphons Koechlin, Reformed pastor from Basel, Switzerland; Eugen Gerstenmaier, leader of the Evangelical relief agency of Germany; and W. Becker, Lutheran layman from Belfort, France. The five-day meeting closed with the delegates repeating the Lord's Prayer in their native tongues. ROBERT ROOT.

Winnipeg Church Is 75 Years Old

Pioneer Congregation, the 'Mother' of Manitoba Presbyterianism, Is Now a Part of United Church

WINNIPEG, March 25.—Knox United Church in Winnipeg is celebrating its 75th anniversary. A score of other Presbyterian churches in the city can trace their lineage to Knox. With the mother church, all of them entered the United Church of Canada in 1925. Despite its age, Knox is still among the largest congregations in the city, and its present gray stone building, with the three towers, is among the finest examples of Canadian church architecture. It is now located in the downtown section, where it carries on a busy and extensive program. The anniversary observation opened with a service at which 68 new members were received and 1,220 persons took communion. The special preacher for the ceremonies was Archer Wallace, author of a number of popular biographies and editor of United Church Sunday school periodicals. His inspiring addresses and sermons were a contribution to the religious life of the city.

* * *

Knox Began in Rugged Pioneer Days

It was in March 1872 that Prof. George Bryce organized a Presbyterian congregation with 11 charter members in Winnipeg, then a village of 215 souls, with the nearest railroad 400 miles away in the United States. Dr. Bryce had come to the area in 1871 with a commission from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to found Manitoba College and establish a Presbyterian parish. Only 20 years before John Black, arriving to minister to the community of Selkirk settlers in Kildonan, a few miles out of Winnipeg on the Red river, had preached the first Presbyterian sermon in the Canadian west. Dr. Bryce came to Winnipeg just a year after the sovereignty of the western territories, from Hudson bay to the Rockies, had been taken over from the Hudson bay company. The village had no post office and no bank. Sterling was still the medium of exchange. Dr. Bryce, who later was principal of Manitoba College, was the first of seven ministers at Knox, four of whom became moderators of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The present minister, E. Crossley Hunter, is a former Methodist, the son of the celebrated Canadian evangelist who became the Moody of this country, working with the musician Dr. Crossley, who was Canada's Sankey. Assisting Dr. Hunter is W. P. Irving, recently returned to civilian life after six years in the airforce, half the time as navigator, half as chaplain.

* * *

United and Anglican Churches Consider Reunion Plan

Groups in both the Anglican and United churches of Winnipeg are studying the report of the joint commission appointed by the denominations to study reunion. The commission has recommended that for the present the question of mutual access to holy communion be set aside, and that

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attention be given rather to a study of certain carefully worked-out proposals for a "mutually acceptable ministry." It proposes that, where practically advantageous, ministers of each church be reordained by the other, its essential principle (not unanimously accepted now by ministers of either church) being that "the two types of ministry are different, and that the grace of each may be conveyed to the other." At a joint meeting of clergy and laymen of both churches, held recently at St. John's College, Archbishop Owen, primate of Canada, outlined the development to date of the movement for reunion. Archbishop Sherman of Rupert's Land, who resides in Winnipeg, made a proposition that proved particularly challenging to members of his own church (Anglican). He suggested that it might be well to reverse the order of procedure and begin immediately in local groups to establish mutual access to holy communion, thus giving witness of Christian fellowship while unitedly working out a scheme for a "mutually acceptable ministry."

* * *

Repair Fire-Ravaged St. Matthew's

St. Matthew's Anglican Church in Winnipeg has just been rededicated. Two years ago the church was gutted by fire, and the parishioners were forced to attend neighboring churches until the basement could be repaired sufficiently to serve as a temporary place of worship. The rector, G. R. Calvert, whose radio ministry has made him popular throughout western Canada, held the congregation together and pursued his work with great vigor and ability. Despite the handicaps of wartime shortages, the building was gradually restored, the ceiling heightened and the floor space rearranged to provide for a small chapel. One stained glass window has already been donated and installed, and an electric organ has replaced the pipe organ which was completely destroyed in the fire. The church is now more beautiful than it was before the disaster.

ERNEST MARSHALL HOWSE.

Laubach Urges New Approach

Calls for Missionaries with Real Skills, Christian Test for Overseas Service

CAIRO, March 18.—Engineers and agriculturists may serve as missionaries from American churches if an all-out missionary effort outlined here by Frank C. Laubach is adopted. In Cairo to launch another of his famous literacy campaigns, Dr. Laubach spoke of the urgency of immediate action along constructive missionary lines. He suggests circulation of the book *Vocational Skills of America* (published by the United States department of labor) among the vocational leaders of all underdeveloped nations such as Egypt. Using this book as a guide, he declared, each nation will be able to indicate what types of technicians, and how many, it needs. The results of their survey, Dr. Laubach suggests, could be printed in a book titled "What the World Asks of America" and sent to churches all over the United States as an appeal for volunteers for this type of work and for financial support. Such a move would create a new type of missionary, he says, with the stress on service rather than on evangelization.

* * *

Says America Must Redeem Herself

As additional aspects of the same program, Dr. Laubach suggests a Protestant school of diplomacy to train men for foreign service in the state department, urges careful screening of service men for overseas duty so that only those of the highest character are sent as American representatives abroad, and requests that international business concerns select Christian representatives for their overseas ventures. "The atom-bomb policy America is now following ultimately will align all the peoples of the world against us," Dr. Laubach warns. "Only an all-out, long-range and immediate effort on our part to help humanity can change this situation." Dr. Laubach is making his personal contribution to this program by launching a literacy campaign here and elsewhere throughout the Arab world. He has persuaded the Egyptian government to establish night schools to teach adults to read. Churches, private schools and religious and cultural societies of all types are aiding in the campaign. The Arabic edition of the *Reader's Digest*, edited by Fuad Sarruf, will circulate thousands of copies of the lessons prepared by Dr. Laubach's committee.

* * *

Denounce Foreign Propaganda Against Islam

In recent weeks the Arab press has attacked foreign schools in Egypt for their intolerant attitude toward Islam. Newspapers have charged that a number of French schools use textbooks which belittle the Moslem religion. According to the Moslem Brotherhood's newspaper, a book used by students in a school in Ismailia states: "Mohammed's religion is false and grotesque and does not provide for noble virtues as does Christianity." The same paper denounces another French school, at Mit Gham, for trying to convert its Moslem pupils to Christianity. It describes the case of a young pupil who was so subjected to proselyting that her parents withdrew her from the school. The journal bitterly condemns other foreign schools and urges confiscation of all books which attack Islam.

* * *

And So Forth

Henry Sloane Coffin, former president of Union Theological Seminary in New York, has been visiting Cairo this week. His long list of speaking engagements includes those at the Anglican Cathedral, the American Church and the American University.

The division of extension of the American University at Cairo is preparing for the 13th time to show the motion picture "The King of Kings" during Holy Week.

Geoffrey Francis Allen has arrived in Cairo and will be installed as bishop of the diocese of Egypt at the Anglican Cathedral March 23.

COY WILTON WYNN.

Sponsor Church-Industry Conference

For the fifth time, the University of Wisconsin school for workers is holding an industrial relations conference for church leaders at Madison. The conference, to be held July 7-19, is sponsored by the industrial division of the Federal Council of Churches.

Refuse to Extend Bar-Closing Time

New South Wales Dry Forces Achieve Unexpected Victory in a State Liquor Law Referendum

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA, March 6.—It is many years since we have had as clear-cut a moral issue in this country as that of last month's hotel referendum in New South Wales, where citizens were given a chance to vote on the most desirable hour for closing liquor bars: 6, 9 or 10 o'clock in the evening. Nearly 90 per cent of the voters exercised their franchise. The result was a nearly 2-to-1 majority in favor of the present closing hour, 6 p.m. The dry forces had rallied the churches into a kind of working unity, stressing the moral dangers of later hours for the consumption of liquor, especially for young people. In volume of material and cash outlay, the wet forces dominated the pre-election propaganda. They lauded the beautiful nighttime atmosphere of the English village inn and deplored the disgustingly hurried "swill" of refreshment supposed to take place in our hotels just before closing time, pointing out that the 10 o'clock closing hour would really mean less drinking—thus eagerly embracing a heaven-sent chance to cut down their own profits!

* * *

Ask Why Other Referendums Are Not Held

The referendum was authorized by a law passed in Parliament after it had been approved by the representatives of the liquor interests, who felt confident that the result would be favorable to them. The dismay of these folk at the action of the voters, on whose enlightenment they had squandered so much money, can be imagined. Elated by their unexpected success, the temperance leaders are looking about for fresh fields to conquer. Apparently a real plebiscite such as this one can be dangerous for arrogant monopolies and lobbyists. Many Australians are asking why, in this so-called democracy, Queensland and Tasmania should arbitrarily, without a referendum, extend the liquor laws to permit 10 o'clock closing, and why New South Wales and Victoria, also without a referendum, should have abolished the laws which formerly permitted local areas to vote out liquor licenses.

* * *

Australia and India May Hold Consultations

Because India is one of its nearest neighbors, Australia is deeply interested in the British cabinet's proposal to permit the Indians to govern themselves after June 1948. We are glad of H. V. Evatt's statement that our government will welcome a frank discussion with Indian leaders on any matters affecting both countries. Some of us privately hope that among the subjects taken up at such consultations will be the exchange of students and teachers, as well as the notorious "white Australia" policy on immigration.

* * *

Indian Missionaries Come to Australia

We have also been considering India on quite another level as the result of the visit

throughout the commonwealth of Mr. and Mrs. Y. S. Joseph, the first missionaries sent out by the South India united church. They will operate within the framework of the London Missionary Society (Congregational) but will be supported by the united church and will represent it. Their station will be in Papua, near Port Moresby. It is something of a divine disturbance to hear the apostolic directness of this dark-skinned brother as he affirms what many Christians with a different shade of pigmentation have forgotten or never actively believed: "We are beginning to see how essential it is for a living church to be missionary minded. India is a poor country, and our churches are not rich, but they are prepared to give up anything to keep this new thing going. I think that the very nature of Christianity is such that you must tackle your own internal affairs, and at the same time take an active part in external things. This the Indian church is now doing."

* * *

Government Plans to Aid Stevedores

Along with items about strikes, lockouts and other developments tactfully called disputes, our newspapers have lately reported the thoroughgoing attempts of the Chifley Labor administration to overhaul the stevedoring industry. Irregularity of employment and a casual labor system are among the problems that make it difficult to fix fair and economically sound conditions on the waterfront. Prompted by a survey which showed that the industry is unhappy and inefficient and is largely manned by workers past middle age of whom many are seriously disabled physically, the federal cabinet has worked out a new plan. A federal commission is to be set up which will have wide powers to prevent or settle by conciliation or arbitration any dispute in the stevedoring industry. It will establish at all ports registers of employers and workers, and employers will be prohibited from hiring waterside workers not on these registers.

* * *

And So Forth

A federal repatriation department announcement says that of nearly 11,000 former service men who have had malaria and been treated with paludrine, only 28 have suffered relapses, and some of those may have failed to comply with instructions for regular dosage.

Instead of the regular church services formerly broadcast on Sunday evenings, the Australian Broadcasting Commission is trying an experiment in radio evangelism. A series of 45-minute talks on "Plain Christianity for Everyman" is being given by speakers chosen for their ability to discuss religion in a vital and interesting manner, making no assumption that the persons addressed are predisposed to listen.

ALLAN T. MCNAUGHTON.

Propose Good Friday As Legal Holiday

A bill proposing that Good Friday be made a legal holiday has been introduced into the House of Representatives, Religious News Service reports. Although 15 states and 75 cities in the country have already proclaimed Good Friday as a legal holiday, the U.S. is one of the few predominantly Christian countries that have not yet given official recognition to the day.

Prayers

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Students of the Northwest Speak

Convictions Expressed at Congress in Portland, When Confirmed on Local Campuses, Will Be Sent to U.N.

PORTLAND, ORE., March 24.—At the second annual Pacific northwest college congress, which met recently at Hood College here, 54 delegates from 34 colleges and universities, including some in Alaska and British Columbia, drafted resolutions setting forth their convictions in respect to world problems. They will offer these for ratification to the 75,000 students whom they represent. Results of the referendum will then be taken to the American U.N. delegation by two students—the same procedure as that followed by the first congress a year ago. Headline speaker at the three-day meeting was Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Student leaders from other sections of the country were present to appraise the regional plan with a view to launching similar plans. The *Portland Oregonian* hailed the congress as "a new force for peace, expressing as it does the organized opinions of college youth."

* * *

Paul Robeson Will Serve His People

At the close of a recent concert before a capacity audience in Portland's civic auditorium, Paul Robeson electrified his hearers by announcing that he will retire from the concert stage to devote his life to the betterment of race relations. The Negro artist declared that his sense of mission and the urgency of racial problems forbade him the pleasure of spending his future simply in singing. He plans to lecture and organize, with his music incidental, in behalf of justice for the Negro. In a dramatic conclusion to his farewell concert, Mr. Robeson recited Othello's final speech.

* * *

Nisei Benefactor Will be Honored

When W. Sherman Burgoyne, Methodist pastor at Hood River, goes to New York in April to receive the Thomas Jefferson award, the expenses of his and his wife's trip will be paid by Oregon nisei in appreciation of his defense of their rights during the war, and especially of his offices in securing the restoration of the names of Japanese-American soldiers to the county honor roll after they had been removed by the Hood River post of the American Legion. Mr. and Mrs. Burgoyne will be honor guests at a banquet at which the Council Against Intolerance in America will recognize his work in behalf of the democratic ideal. Mr. Burgoyne recently received a citation for his ministry of tolerance from the Oregon chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

* * *

'Heifers for Relief' Launches Oregon Campaign

"Heifers for Relief," the movement launched in 1941 by the Church of the Brethren and now being conducted on an interdenominational and interfaith basis, has opened an office in Oregon, sponsored by a committee of which J. J. Handsaker, veteran of Near East Relief, is chairman. Funds are being raised in churches, public schools and civic organizations. Approximately 100 heifers have already been donated by this area. Toyohiko Kagawa recently addressed a personal appeal to the Oregon office for help in the form of "goats for Japan."

* * *

Power Use Hits All-Time High

The amazing development of the Pacific northwest is evidenced in recently announced power statistics. The output of the northwest electrical pool, which includes the Bonneville and Grand Coulee projects together with seven private and municipal utilities, has reached an all-time hourly peak of 2,574,000 kilowatts. The wartime top was 2,233,600 kilowatts. Industrial development of the Pacific northwest since the war threatens to exhaust available electric power, which is the cheapest in the nation, and expansion of generating and transmission facilities is recognized as imperative. A third government project on the Columbia river, McNary dam, is scheduled to be in production by 1952. Meanwhile, power is being brought in from other regions in the northwest.

* * *

Kaiser-Sponsored Foundation Carries On

The Permanente Foundation, launched during the war by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Kaiser with the aid of a government grant under the Lanham act, and made famous by Paul de Kruif in his book, *Kaiser Wakes the Doctors*, continues as an expanding institution. In addition to the original Vancouver (Washington) hospital, the foundation has taken over Portland's Vanport hospital and has opened a new clinic. The entire project is a non-profit, charitable undertaking designed to extend the benefits of prepaid medical care. There are approximately 10,000 participants in the Portland-Vancouver area at the present time, either as members of employed groups or as individuals.

* * *

And So Forth

Portland's Negro population has stabilized at about 12,000. Three times that number were here during the war. The prewar total was about 2,100. Of the 4,500 Negroes in the labor market, at least 1,500 are unemployed.

A recent check for $500,000 from the estate of the late E. S. Collins, Portland lumberman and philanthropist, completes his bequest of a total of $1,884,344 to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Church.

Portland's First Congregational Church has installed a chancel. It is the first of the city's larger churches to replace the pulpit-centered platform with an altar and accompanying chancel arrangements.

Coming from Grace Church, Orange, N. J., Lane Wickham Barton has commenced his work as Episcopal bishop of Eastern Oregon. He has half again as many communicants in the diocese as were enrolled in his former parish. His residence will be at Pendleton.

Two of Oregon's military bases are being converted to peacetime uses. Camp White has been acquired by the state as an institution for the mentally ill and feeble-minded, and the marine barracks at Klamath Falls as a vocational school.

RAYMOND B. WALKER.

Honolulu Receives Missionary Group

Churches Entertain Families En Route to China and Philippines—New Hawaii Legislature Meets

HONOLULU, March 13.—Churches of this city were hosts on Feb. 20 to 305 missionaries and their families who stopped off here en route to China and the Philippines on the S.S. Marine Lynx. The largest shipload of missionaries ever to pass through this port, the group represented 28 denominations, with the most numerous delegations those of the Seventh Day Adventists and the Assembly of God. The local council of churches arranged the day's program. The missionaries were met off port by a committee and escorted by a motorcade of 75 cars to the Central Union Church. There the major denominations received their missionaries, provided tea for them at various churches and accompanied them on sightseeing tours. When local Episcopalians found that no Episcopal missionaries were among the group, they entertained the entire China Inland Mission group. The day's program culminated in a union service at Central Union Church, in which ministers of several denominations took part. William Henry Fry, recently retired superintendent of the Methodist mission here, addressed the group on behalf of the local churches, and John Hamlin, a Presbyterian, U.S.A., missionary, spoke in the name of his fellow travelers. Since this fourth shipload of missionaries to sail from the Pacific coast for the Orient this winter had not been given a joint farewell service by the San Francisco area churches, Honolulu considered it a privilege to provide both a welcome and a farewell.

* * *

Equalized Political Make-up Handicaps Legislature

It was three weeks before the house of representatives in the Hawaii legislature, which convened Feb. 19, could be formally organized. An exact division of membership between Republicans and Democrats produced a deadlock which neither party would break. Finally one Democrat voted with the Republicans, thus electing a Republican speaker of the house. In this unprecedented situation, a compromise eliminated a vice-speaker and provided for two floor leaders to alternate as presiding officer in the absence of the speaker. Since house committees will contain an equal number of Republicans and Democrats, there will probably be deadlocks throughout the session. A number of controversial matters have been injected into the legislature's program. Chief among them are a proposed FEPC bill, a compulsory hospital and medical care insurance bill recommended by a commission set up by the governor two years ago, a territorial liquor monopoly plan proposed by Governor Stainback, and various tax revision plans to produce more revenue to meet the mounting costs of territorial services.

* * *

FEPC Bill Is Hotly Debated

The proposed FEPC bill, based upon a model bill drawn up by the American Civil

Liberties Union, is sponsored by the Hawaii Association for Civic Unity. It is the result of demand for such legislation from various non-Caucasian groups in the island, and is meeting strong opposition from business groups and from the "Spearhead for Americanism" campaign of the Elks. The bill would rely for its effectiveness chiefly on education and conciliation rather than on compulsion, but it would provide for "teeth" to eliminate discrimination when other methods have failed.

* * *

Medical Service Plan Gets Support of Masses

The contemplated medical service plan would be financed by a 2½ per cent tax, one half deducted from all wages and salaries, the other half paid by employers. It would provide complete hospital and medical service throughout the territory, with physicians' and surgeons' fees based on a prearranged schedule. The medical profession and business interests are almost solidly united in opposition to the plan, but it has the support of the masses. The governor's proposed liquor monopoly would give the territory about $10,000,000 a year from taxes on liquor sales. Apparently, however, it would not serve to reduce the evils attendant on the retail sale of liquor by the glass. Some people favor the plan as the lesser of two evils, but others are opposed to the idea of the people of Hawaii "going into the liquor business."

* * *

University of Hawaii Is 40 Years Old

Many public meetings, lectures, dinners and other festivities are on the week-long program which the University of Hawaii is sponsoring in celebration of its 40th anniversary. Headlining the series are three educators from the mainland: Karl T. Compton of M.I.T., Charles Seymour, president of Yale University, and Howard Bevis, president of Ohio State University. The general theme of the observance is "The Pacific Area and Higher Education." Among the visiting professors at the university this semester are William Hung of Harvard-Yenching, Paul L. Dengler of Vienna, Frederick G. Mann of Trinity College, Cambridge, George F. Whicher of Amherst and Jesse F. Steiner of the University of Washington. The university hopes to receive an appropriation from the legislature this year to build its first undergraduate dormitories and to establish schools of medicine, dentistry and law.

EDWARD L. WHITTEMORE.

Religious Training Called Reform Measure

Reform school boys given religious training and referred to a home-town church upon their release are four times more likely to succeed than those receiving no help in this area, James L. Keyser, chaplain of the boys' industrial school at Lancaster, Ohio, announced recently in his annual report. According to Mr. Keyser, the number of parole violators among the members of his chapel is less than 10 per cent, as compared with 37 per cent for the total school enrollment. Chaplain Keyser attributes the success of the program to the follow-up service carried on by the Ohio council of churches, which sends information to the home churches of the boys who are paroled.

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Labor Government Outrides Censure

After Debate on Its Economic White Paper, Parliament Refuses to Vote Lack of Confidence

LONDON, March 17.—The debate in Parliament on the government's white paper on its economic planning scheme ended in approval of the document and a refusal to vote the censure which the opposition demanded. But before this came about, we were treated to a debate which covered a wider field than the matter in hand and was participated in by able speakers representing all three parties (for the small but able Liberal group finally made itself heard and felt). The first day brought a real discussion of the white paper. On the second day, Mr. Churchill held the close attention of all as he gave a speech with his accustomed brilliance. He contended that Commons and the country have lost their confidence in both the home and foreign policies of the government. In the examples he chose to prove his points he was plainly weaker than in his general charges, and some of them seemed trivial, better suited for an out-of-doors election speech to a crowd that "cheers but does not discriminate."

* * *

The Government Replies

The house listened to Mr. Churchill with respect, and his own side expressed enthusiasm. The government's spokesmen did not attack him, and they left many of his charges unanswered, wisely determined to keep to the main purpose of showing what the white paper proposed to do and what it did not propose to do. Mr. Alexander, minister of defense, unhappily tried the old, too familiar method of referring to "back numbers." Some members walked out, but the protest seems to have served no great purpose. Some of the Liberals who voted against approving the white paper but not for the vote of lack of confidence indicated that they would not refuse to help improve the government's plans by amendment. The reference to Mr. Churchill by Mr. Attlee, who spoke last, could not have been misunderstood by that old gladiator. They were all glad, said Mr. Attlee, to hear Mr. Churchill again "do his stuff," but they realized that he was suffering from his lifelong delusion that when he speaks he ceases to be a member of a party and his voice becomes that of the nation.

* * *

Britain Surprised at Truman on Greece

Even while Parliament was busy discussing the economic white paper, the center of news interest shifted to Washington. Although we had been prepared for a speech by Mr. Truman on Greece and Turkey, his plain and abrupt declaration came as a surprise to the ordinary citizen. And the later elucidations, which we took to be inspired by Secretary Marshall, did not lessen our surprise. This morning the London *Times* titles its leading editorial "The American Giant." It describes in realistic fashion what choices the economic situation now sets before the United States. The comment keeps clear of anything like intervention in American domestic politics, but it must be said that some of the language in the press about the "liquidation of the British commonwealth" and what may be the policy of the United States after such a revolution is at least as premature as were the predictions about Britain's demise after Dunkirk.

* * *

Bertrand Russell on the Atomic Future

The recent excellent radio speeches by scientists on the implications of atomic development can now be read in the *Listener*, and will later be published in book form—a real piece of public service. The conclusion given by Bertrand Russell deserves consideration, coming as it does from a great scholar independent of all traditional parties and faiths. Mr. Russell points out that a new great war would cause death, devastation and suffering on a wider scale than anything we have experienced, and that if it did not end quickly in the victory of one side, it would probably exterminate a large part of the human race and reduce the remainder to a primitive way of life. On the other hand, if one side won a quick victory, it could establish a world empire which would disarm all other nations and treat them as conquered subjects. An international authority to control atomic energy, Mr. Russell declares, would form a valuable school of training in international cooperation, but it would not be likely to avert a great war permanently or to prevent the warring nations from using atomic weapons after the first few months of hostilities. He believes that the only permanent way to prevent great wars is to create an international armed force stronger than that of any single power or probable alliance of powers. This force must be under the command of an international authority which would employ it solely for the preservation of peace in accordance with an agreed-on body of international law.

* * *

Flood, Winds Add to Toll of Britain's Suffering

After the blizzards and snows and raging winds came the floods, greater than any seen before in this generation. Because the filter beds of the Lea bridge waterworks have been put out of order by the floods, 1,000,000 of us in the east London area must conserve our water carefully, boiling every drop we use, and when the taps go dry try to obtain water from the water carts which patrol the streets—no easy task in this thickly populated district. Now the winds have come, the most severe in the history of Britain. Last night they attained a velocity of 100 miles an hour, a mark seldom reached here. They passed quickly, but already there is another toll of destruction to be added to the long list.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Tennessee Presbyterian Council Meets

The pan-Presbyterian council of Tennessee met in Nashville March 18. Composed of representatives of the four Presbyterian denominations (Associate Reformed Presbyterian, Cumberland Presbyterian, Presbyterian, U.S., and Presbyterian, U.S.A.), the council is endeavoring to promote better understanding and cooperation among churches of the denominations in Tennessee.

Criticize Source Of Teachers' Pay

Some West Virginians Doubt Wisdom of Depending on Beer, Cigarette and Racing Tax for Needed Raise

HUNTINGTON, W. VA., March 24.—Probably the most important accomplishment of the 48th West Virginia legislature was the passage of a bill providing substantially higher salaries for the state's 15,000 schoolteachers. The raises will range from $30 to $60 a month, with doubled amounts for experience ratings. To obtain the necessary additional revenue the lawmakers increased taxes on beer, cigarettes and horse racing. From these three sources the state's treasury is expected to be enriched by approximately $6,000,000 every two years. While enactment of the measure raising teachers' salaries is gratifying to everyone, many West Virginians deplore the fact that it will make public education more dependent than ever on the liquor traffic and pari-mutuel gambling.

After what proved to be the bitterest controversy of the session, the legislature abolished the fee system of feeding prisoners in county jails. A third important enactment provides vastly increased appropriations for farm-to-market secondary roads.

* * *

Project Kentucky Council Of Churches

Seven Protestant denominations met in Louisville recently and unanimously called for the establishment of a Kentucky council of churches. The project must be officially approved by the state conference or convention of each participating denomination, but no opposition is expected and it is anticipated that the organization will be able to hold its first meeting next January. A provisional budget was adopted and provisional officers chosen. Denominations represented at the meeting were Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopal, Nazarene, Disciples of Christ and Lutheran.

* * *

Doctors Wary of State Medicine

Several speakers before the Southern Surgical Congress recently held in Louisville testified to the critical inadequacy of the present system of medical care. Invariably, however, the speakers hastened to express objections to any government-sponsored plan of health and hospital insurance, and to voice warnings against the perils of socialized medicine. While the surgeons and their spokesmen definitely approved the principle of national responsibility for medical service and security, they inserted the reservation that all who are eligible for such benefits should participate on a "voluntary" basis. The Louisville *Courier-Journal* editorially deplored the refusal of the profession to take the next logical step and propose a system that will positively assure hospitalization and treatment for multitudes who cannot now afford it.

* * *

Christian Science Pupils Excused from Classes

Eldon S. Dummit, attorney general of Kentucky, has ruled that public school pu-

pils of the Christian Science faith may be exempted from attending health and physical education classes "so long as this does not disrupt the school curriculum." He based his decision on the religious liberty principle of the Constitution. He insisted, however, that such pupils will have to submit to medical examinations, which are a requirement covered by the state's police powers and must be obeyed without exception. Theodore E. Metzner, Kentucky director of publications for the Christian Science Church, was the chief instigator of opposition to the health course and medical examination, claiming that these "plant the suggestion of disease" in the minds of children of his faith in contradiction to their fundamental religious beliefs.

* * *

Baptist Young People Hold Convocation

More than 600 Baptist young people from West Virginia assembled in Charleston on a recent Saturday for a state-wide discipleship convocation. This was one of 37 such conferences being held across the nation in February and March by the Youth Fellowship of the Northern Baptist Convention. The keynote of the convocation was individual commitment to life service in a program to win the youth of America and of the world to Christ. The theme was the challenge from Isaiah: "Whom shall I send?" Principal emphases were evangelism, stewardship and missions. National leaders who addressed the Charleston convocation included Edwin T. Dahlberg, president of the Northern Baptist Convention; Roger Frederickson, former national president of the Baptist Youth Fellowship; and Joel Sorenson, executive director of the Baptist youth of Sweden.

* * *

And So Forth

A city-wide youth revival in which 73 Baptist churches in the area are cooperating is being held this week in the Walnut Street Baptist Church of Louisville.

The faculty of Municipal College, Negro institution which is a part of the University of Louisville, will hereafter be paid according to the same salary scale that obtains in the liberal arts college. Action to this effect was taken by the university trustees when the wage differential was protested by the American Association of University Professors. Up to now the minimum scale for instructors at the Negro school has averaged about $800 per year less than at the college for white students.

An American Bible Society committee for Kentucky, with Barry Bingham, president of the *Courier-Journal* and the *Louisville Times*, serving as chairman, has been appointed to conduct a mail solicitation for funds to furnish Bibles to war-devastated countries, principally Germany and Japan.

J. MAURICE TRIMMER.

Propose Legislation For Refugee Aid

Several bills calling for the admission of refugees to the United States have been introduced into the House of Representatives, among them H.R. 36, authorizing the admission of 250,000 displaced persons, and H.R. 38, which would amend the immigration act of 1924 to permit increased immigration. In contrast to these proposals is H.R. 138, which would "deny admission to the U. S. to all immigrants while the number of unemployed persons within the U. S. is 100 or more."

Baptist Seminaries Opened in Russia

According to a Religious News Service correspondent in Moscow, Soviet authorities have given permission for the creation of new Baptist seminaries in Russia and for the reopening of a previously established theological school. At present Sunday schools do not exist in Russia, as the constitution does not permit religious instruction of children except in the home.

Urge Southern Seminaries Be Opened to Negroes

In a resolution passed at the annual state conference of Episcopal college students at Chapel Hill, N.C., representatives recommended "that the Bishop Payne Divinity School at Petersburg, Va., be abolished and that Negro candidates for holy orders be admitted to the regular southern theological schools of the church."

Hymn Society Announces 1948 Is 'Watts Year'

In commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the death of Isaac Watts, noted English hymn writer, the Hymn Society of America has designated 1948 as "Watts Year" in church hymnody, Religious News Service reports. The anniversary year will be marked by interdenominational festivals of Watts hymns, special church services and radio programs.

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Declare Treaties A Church Concern

Federal Council's Executive Committee Speaks Out on Current Problems, Adopts New Industrial Plan

NEW YORK, March 27.—After serious debate, the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches in a prolonged session here Tuesday adopted important resolutions on questions of race, peace, current international policy and economic issues. Among these was a nine-page statement presented by the commission on a just and durable peace on the churches and the peace settlement in Europe, with particular reference to Germany. It urged relief of spiritual and physical hunger and declared that "political and economic conditions of the peace settlement" are a concern of the churches. It called for a just accord between the Soviet Union and the West and between the victor and the vanquished. Seven long-term policies were set forth in respect to "our Christian responsibility to raise certain moral considerations which should apply to the European settlement," and five short-term policies were recommended as applying to the "immediate issues affecting the human situation in Germany which require a moral and curative action." The conclusion drew attention to Christian responsibility through the World Council of Churches and ended: "We join in prayer with the Christians in every land that the nations may be drawn by God to break the vicious circles that have held them bound and that they may make a new beginning."

Cautious on Aid to Greece

The question of President Truman's proposal on aid to Greece and Turkey, with the resulting international complications, was given serious consideration. The resolution finally adopted was a preliminary one, to be followed by a more studied statement which will be drawn up after consultation with government officials and considered at a special meeting of the executive committee. It recognized that "the foreign policy of Russia is aggressive and expansionist in character" but expressed a belief that a peaceful settlement is still possible. It also took the position that if any part of the proposed program on Greece could be undertaken by the United Nations now, that should first be done.

Another statement took a positive stand on the desirability of reciprocal trade agreements. Referring to the coming meeting of 17 nations at Geneva to discuss reduction of trade barriers, it declared: "We would deplore any course by members of Congress which might cast doubt upon America's continuing adherence to the fundamentals of this program. . . . The world's need for a prosperous exchange of goods, and for the democracy and peace which that can further, is too great to be placed in such jeopardy."

Expand Industrial Division

An important action of the committee was its approval of the reorganization of the council's industrial division to become the new department of the church and economic life, with Cameron Hall as secretary. The findings of the Pittsburgh Conference on the Church and Economic Order had called for such a change. A high moment of the meeting came when George W. Richards, formerly president of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church at Lancaster, Pa., after recalling how in 1908 the matter of organizing a "social service department" in the council had been taken up with fear and trepidation, declared: "I am thankful to see this day when in strength and fearlessness a department of the church and economic life can be consummated." The committee responded with applause, and unanimously adopted the proposal. The new department, which is charged with the responsibility of the relation of the churches to economic life as a whole, will have members drawn from lay occupations, particularly from agriculture, business, consumers and labor—four from each of these groups, and five at large, with alternates. The committee on the church and cooperatives will become a subcommittee in the new department. James Myers, who has served as secretary of the industrial division, is to retire April 2 under the pension plan.

Formulate 'Defense' Statement

A two-hour debate ensued when a nine-page brochure setting forth "Present Policies of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America" was presented for adoption. In brief, these policies were as follows: "Its central objective is to serve as a unifying and coordinating instrument. . . . It is positively evangelical in doctrine. . . . It seeks a common front of American Protestantism. . . . It aims to draw together Christian representatives of management, labor and agriculture. . . . Rejecting communism, it seeks to make our economic system more fully serve democracy and justice for all. . . . It stands for equal opportunity and justice for all races. . . . It is concerned with international cooperation, Christian citizenship, an ecumenical church and effective Christian cooperation." On the floor, the negative character of the statements and the desirability of such a "defense" procedure were sharply attacked. However, they were finally adopted with but one dissenting vote.

The committee instructed the council's staff to prepare a pamphlet dealing with the problem of public funds and parochial schools and to seek interfaith collaboration "concerning the possibility of taking steps looking toward a greater attention for religion in public education"—the latter to be undertaken after consultation with the International Council of Religious Education. Members heard a report by E. G. Homrighausen of Princeton on the international conference on evangelism held recently in Geneva, and an account by J. Quinter Miller of the work of the churches in the Canal Zone. They voted to set up with the Home Missions Council a joint commission on the urban church.

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

No 'Jim Crow' In Worship

In answer to an inquiry, the Kentucky attorney general has ruled that no legal moves can be taken to prevent Negro and white people from worshiping together. He based his opinion on the principle of separation of church and state.

Calls on Brazil's Catholics to Act

Prominent Lay Leader Charges Clergy Is Weak, Urges a New Spirit to Defeat 'Leftist Fanaticism'

SAO PAULO, BRAZIL, March 3.—Tristão de Ataide, a Brazilian Catholic lay leader and disciple of Jacques Maritain, has sounded a call to his fellow churchmen to Christianize the new age, to save the world from the "leftist fanaticism" which he sees as threatening to succeed "rightist fanaticism." The task of the church, he says, is not only to defend traditional Christian truths, but also to adapt itself to a civilization which needs a re-evaluation of moral values. De Ataide admits that the church is to a certain degree responsible for the moral decay of the middle classes and the turning of the masses to "materialist regimes." He points out that in France during the last century the church backed the throne, and that Catholic leaders did not understand the hopes of the masses nor hear the cry for social justice. In this country, he says, Catholicism lacks the purity, depth and dynamism it has in other countries. He charges that there are too few priests, that many religious leaders are intellectually and morally weak, particularly in the backwoods (which he defines as sometimes beginning in the city of Rio de Janeiro), that Catholics do not know the principles of their faith and are superstitious, that the upper classes are reactionary and unaware of their religious duties, and that the masses are victims of an alarming spiritual indifference. Because many Catholics are not interested in Catholic Action, he says, the enemies of the church will not cease to intrigue against it.

* * *

Vatican Praises Brazilian Catholicism

A statement on Brazilian Catholicism entirely at variance with the views of Tristão de Ataide appeared in a recent issue of the *Osservatore Romano*, often considered the voice of the Vatican. The statement, made in connection with the granting to the Catholic University of São Paulo of the title of "pontifical university," declares: "Brazil is a completely Catholic country and, from the numerical point of view, contests with Italy the title of 'first Catholic country in the world.'" The newspaper recognizes that the Brazilian clergy is not numerous, but says this fact is not due to a lack of energy on the part of the country's Catholics.

* * *

May Introduce Henry George's Ideas

Monteiro Lobato, prominent Brazilian writer, salutes the Communist leader Prestes for his part in the recent elections. He notes that in those elections Prestes won three victories: he defeated the dictator Vargas, he destroyed the traditional party domination of Brazilian politics, and he overcame the power of the clergy in politics. Lobato calls upon Prestes to support the new president of the state of São Paulo in his plan to introduce the ideas of Henry George in the state's economic sphere. Prestes has answered that he will back any "progressive

ideas" the new president may propose, including those of Henry George.

* * *

Petition for Ban on Communist Party

Brazil's attorney general has asked the superior electoral court to ban the Communist party on the ground that it is "extremist" and the constitution declares that extremist activities are illegal. He charges that in Brazil the party's claim to be democratic and not opposed to freedom is obviously a pretense, since Lenin and Marx were very explicit in stating that proletarian dictatorships would suppress freedom. "It is impossible," he says, "to imagine a Communist party that does not follow communist ideas." In a few days the court will hand down a decision on the petition.

* * *

And So Forth

The other day, in one of the largest hotels of Rio de Janeiro, a highly cultured Negro woman, a university graduate, was denied admittance. This is a strange occurrence in Brazil, where, as many Americans know, there is no racial prejudice. A Rio newspaper charges that the refusal was based on the objection of American guests registered at the hotel.

MacKenzie Institute here has established a faculty of philosophy, the first such department in any Protestant school in Brazil. Although the institute was established by a Protestant church, it is not affiliated with any denomination. More than half of its professors are also members of the University of São Paulo faculty.

The *Estado de São Paulo*, liberal newspaper published here, has attacked Sumner Welles on the ground that he is not speaking the truth on Latin American problems. It charges that he is pretending that Argentina's present government is democratic and constitutional, and that his purpose is to overthrow the ideas of Spruille Braden and encourage dictatorships throughout South America.

JOAO DEL NERO.

German Lutherans Unite

Plan Organization within Framework of Evangelical Church in Germany

KARLSRUHE, GERMANY, Feb. 27.—German Lutherans are planning a united Lutheran church to weld together the various provincial Lutheran bodies in one organization. The new organization will in turn be a part of the state-supported Evangelical Church in Germany. At present German Protestantism has creedal variations, but its organization is along geographical rather than denominational lines. Within the Evangelical Church are Lutheran, Reformed, and United (combined Lutheran and Reformed) churches. While the denominations have theological autonomy, the bulk of their finances, periodicals and organization is controlled by the Evangelical Church setup. Local church leaders look upon the Lutheran move as an ecumenical venture which will actually bring a greater degree of unity to German Protestantism. In their minds, it is similar to a united American Lutheran church working within the Federal Council.

From the standpoint of activity, the separation between the denominations is less sharp than in America. Likewise, the Evangelical Church resembles the common concept of a church far more than does the Federal Council of Churches. Thus the analogy with the American system is misleading, and there is some fear that the Lutheran move may intensify divisions in German Protestantism. The recent conference of church leaders in Treysa took the view that the Barmen declaration of the Confessional Church in 1934 was a statement of belief common to all Christian groups, but did not furnish the theological basis for a united church. For the present, the various elements in the church will work together without seeking organic unity. Whether the Lutheran move will increase or diminish the cooperation of the different denominational groups is a question which only time can answer.

CHESTER L. HUNT.

Bishop Perry Is Dead

Former Head of Rhode Island Diocese Was National Episcopal Official

PROVIDENCE, R.I., March 26.—Tributes from people of high and low estate are being paid to the memory of James DeWolf Perry, for 36 years Episcopal bishop of the diocese of Rhode Island and one of the nation's best known churchmen, who died last week while on vacation in South Carolina. Bishop Perry had retired last October. During his tenure in Rhode Island the diocese grew in size and strength until today Episcopalians equal Baptists in number in this state of Roger Williams tradition. From 1930 to 1938 Bishop Perry served as Episcopal presiding bishop. He was honored by many universities and organizations and was one of the founders of the Episcopal National Council, of which he later became chairman. A memorial service was held Monday at the Cathedral of St. John. Presiding Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill officiated, assisted by Granville G. Bennett, Bishop Perry's successor in the Rhode Island diocese.

* * *

Rhode Island Proposes Bans on C.O.'s

The state general assembly has hurriedly passed and sent to the senate a bill which would bar conscientious objectors from appointment to state offices and deny them other rights. The Rhode Island council of churches, meeting in celebration of its 10th anniversary, at once launched an attack on the proposed bill, calling it unconstitutional, an affront to a high type of youth and an attack on fundamental principles which should be protected. Local churches will carry on the fight, and district ministerial associations have stated their intentions of issuing protests against the bill.

* * *

May Secure State FEPC Bill

Representatives of church and state are gathering in support of a bill which has been introduced in the Rhode Island general assembly to secure fair employment practices. It seeks to deal a blow against job discrimination because of race or creed. In Pawtucket, Providence and other cities

Northfield
GENERAL CONFERENCE

August 2-11, 1947

A complete General Conference on the Northfield campus will be offered this summer for the first time since 1941. The program will appeal to ministers and laymen alike and as an added attraction Northfield offers unusual vacation opportunities at reasonable rates.

As usual the Northfield Conference will present an outstanding list of speakers. Among those who have accepted are Dr. Adam W. Burnet, Scotland; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Union Theological Seminary; Dr. Stanley High, author and editor; Dr. Robert R. Wicks, Princeton University; Dr. Russell L. Dicks, Wesley Memorial Hospital; Dr. Sidney Lovett, Yale University; The Reverend Carl Heath Kopf, Mount Vernon Church of Boston. Others will be announced later.

For further information and reservations, write

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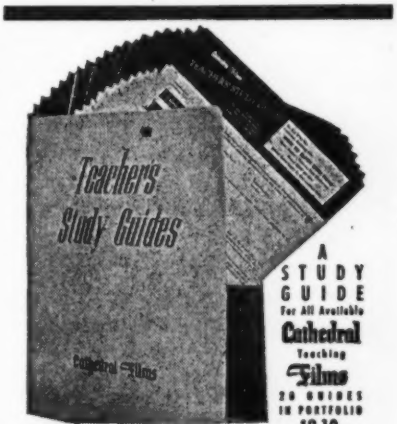

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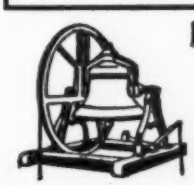

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public forums on the bill are being planned in which church, industrial and social group leaders will discuss the bill.

* * *

Attack Conditions in Institutions

A concerted attack on the deplorable conditions in the state mental institution at Howard is being spearheaded by L. Louis Aber, a Protestant chaplain attached to the institution. Mr. Aber has aroused a number of religious and social groups to protest to the department of social welfare and to the governor against conditions which require one attendant to serve 294 patients, one doctor 250 patients, and one nurse 120 patients. More than 100 deaths have taken place recently in the institution. Church groups in the state have sent delegations to the state school at Exeter, whose fire precautions and facilities for medical treatment have been reported as inadequate.

* * *

And So Forth

Darwyn T. Owen, Anglican archbishop and primate of Canada, gave the Lenten addresses at Grace Church here and spoke at a meeting of the British Empire club.

Robert Goelet has presented his 50-room mansion and 6-acre Newport estate to the Roman Catholic bishop of Providence in memory of his father. The property, which lies at the center of the exclusive section of Newport, will be opened in September as Salve Regina College. Operated by the Sisters of Mercy, it will be the only Catholic women's college in the state.

RICHARD K. MORTON.

Friends Announce Summer Projects

More than 400 young people of high school and college age, of all races and religions, are expected to participate this summer in work and study projects sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee in Mexico, Europe and all parts of the United States. Nearly 40 institutes of international relations, international service seminars and peace caravans are planned to stimulate interest in achieving world peace.

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The Church Roll

J. Hutchison Cockburn, former moderator of the Church of Scotland and now head of the department of reconstruction and interchurch aid of the World Council of Churches, will come to this country for the council's provisional committee meeting.

W. Wendell Cleland, American missionary who has been in charge of extension work at the American University of Cairo for 30 years, has been named by the state department to head the research division of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, with headquarters in Washington.

John Maxwell Adams, director of the department of university work for the Presbyterian, U.S.A., Board of Christian Education, has been appointed chaplain and associate professor of religion at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.

Garland Evans Hopkins, associate secretary of the Methodist Board of Missions, will represent American church groups at the inter-Asian conference to be held in New Delhi, India.

Reprints Now Available!

Now Will Protestants Awake?

An Editorial. American democracy has again been imperiled from within. By decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, the states are permitted to use tax funds to pay for transportation of pupils of parochial schools. This has put new power into the hands of the Roman hierarchy. The wall of separation between church and state has been breached. The mighty wall of democracy still stands, but already the flood which will sweep away American institutions is seeping through. Protestantism must awake, declares this editorial.

Alcoholism—A Medical Opinion

An Article by Regner W. Kullberg, M.D. An acknowledged authority on alcoholism presents the facts as they have been established in his own practice and by such institutions as the Yale Alcohol Clinic. Not preachments, but *scientific facts.*

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Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

The Beast with Five Fingers (War.) *Melodrama* about a dead pianist whose severed hand returns to terrorize his scheming household. Fantastic tale given more "class" than usual horror film by able cast, surrealist interpolations. Still *very unpleasant.* M

The Red House (UA) Judith Anderson, Lon McCallister, Edward G. Robinson, Allene Roberts. *Melodrama.* Curiosity of adolescents who seek to solve mystery of forbidden woods sets in motion chain of tragic events which reveal even more tragic, long buried secrets. A *tense,* absorbing tale, developed in leisurely fashion, made more convincing than would otherwise be the case by use of natural farm backgrounds, realistic sets. M

The Secret Heart (MGM) June Allyson, Claudette Colbert, Walter Pidgeon, Robert Sterling. *Drama* poses problem for charming, sacrificial stepmother and well balanced brother: how to cure girl of her neurotic attachment to dead father's memory without revealing that he was really a dipsomaniac and embezzler. Although psychiatric overtones are brushed off and theme is somewhat reminiscent of daytime soap operas, film is intelligently enough handled to provide *good adult entertainment.* M,Y

13 Rue de Madeleine (Fox) *Melodrama* is launched under able direction of March of Time expert as absorbing documentation of training and work of U.S. secret service, regrettably degenerates into typical cliché-ridden Hollywood spy fare, after which film is *admittedly exciting, hardly convincing.* M,Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

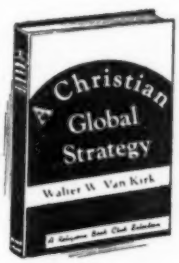
For Family: Anna and the King of Siam, Courage of Lassie, Gallant Journey, The Green Years, Henry V, Make Mine Music, Margie, Marie Louise, Sister Kenny, Smoky, The Yearling.

For Mature Audience: Angel on My Shoulder, The Best Years of Our Lives, Brief Encounter, Caesar and Cleopatra, The Dark Mirror, It's a Wonderful Life, Pursued, My Darling Clementine, Notorious Gentleman, The Razor's Edge, The Searching Wind, Smash-up, The Well-digger's Daughter. 4-47

Toward the Building of a Christian World Order

A Christian Global Strategy

by Walter W. Van Kirk



UNLESS the world vision of Jesus, and his global gospel, is daringly worked out on a grand scale—*now*—civilization is doomed, Dr. Van Kirk declares.

The book is more timely than when it was written. "Imperialism is on the way out. The economic and political bondage attending empire cannot long survive in a world where the 'Four Freedoms' have become the creed of mass populations in areas hitherto deprived of those freedoms."

In such a time of revolution, Christianity came. Amid the present revolution, only the church—a united church—can reconstruct and rebuild, says the author.

"The purpose of this fact-packed book," says W. E. Garrison, "is to urge that Christianity shall be arrayed, not by squads or platoons or in guerrilla warfare but by armies with an over-all strategy, not within limiting bounds of parishes or nations but with the world as its field of operations." $2.00

The New Leviathan

by Paul Hutchinson

"Paul Hutchinson has rung the tocsin to warn somnolent churchmen of impending conflicts of church and state. A victorious Russia, he observes, has increased the prestige of totalitarianism generally, while the disciplines of war have accustomed the democracies to dangerous concessions to Leviathan. The church alone has grounds of principle on which a successful resistance can be founded—*if the church acts in time.*" *Journal of Religion.* $2.00

From Victory to Peace

by Paul Hutchinson

Still in wide demand, especially for the study of groups interested in widening Christian public opinion in behalf of a lasting peace. Says John Haynes Holmes: "Dr. Hutchinson has a masterful understanding of the political and economic forces of our time, and an extraordinary capacity for interpretation." $2.00

God In Us

by A. C. Garnett

Finds God, not on some far throne, but "in us"—and in this travailing world, which he is trying to remold "nearer to his heart's desire." $1.50

The Man Christ Jesus

by John Knox

"Remarkably clear in its presentation, and will prove helpful as a reverent contribution to the study of a subject that has perennial freshness." *United Presbyterian.* $1.00

Every Day a Prayer

by M. H. Bro

"Whether read by the family or by an individual, the suggestions in this book will open up new worlds of meaning." *Watchman-Examiner.* $1.50

God's Back Pasture

by A. W. Hewitt

With his life Dr. Hewitt has testified to the importance of the small-town and rural church. And he again testifies in this book. $1.50

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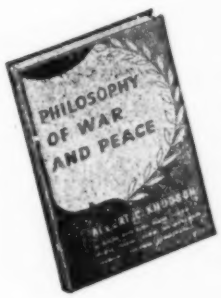
Albert C. Knudson

Of him T. A. Kantonen says: "Because of the breadth and soundness of his scholarship, the vitality and depth of his constructive thinking, and the compactness and lucidity of his style of writing, Dean Knudson has come to be considered by many as the greatest of contemporary American theologians."

THE PHILOSOPHY OF WAR AND PEACE

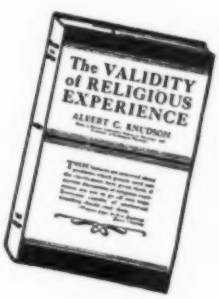


The world today stands at troubled truce. Great minds of every nation are meeting across the conference tables in an attempt to create a true and lasting brotherhood of men. Dr. Knudson's book deals brilliantly with this subject, tracing the reasons for war through the ages, and the development of the systematic modern struggle for world peace. He appeals to the peace-conscious citizen whose knowledge of the problems and intelligent pursuit of the solution are the foundation blocks upon which world peace must be built. **$2**

The Principles of Christian Ethics

A masterly exposition of Christian ethics, viewed in the perspective both of history and of present-day thought. Historically Dr. Knudson reviews the interpretation of ethics in the Christian tradition. On the more formal and systematic side he analyzes the nature of the moral law. A section on "Practical Applications" comes to grips with the burning issues of modern life. **$2.75**

The Validity of Religious Experience



Professor Earl Marlatt says of this book: "If ever a priest and prophet performed the Promethian task of religion—'to discern the vision from the common dream'—Dr. Knudson does in this series of essays." He points out that 'validity' is just as fundamental and trustworthy in our religious experience, and just as demonstrable, as science's facts of the test-tube and the microscope. **$2**

The Religious Teachings of the Old Testament

One sees here the beginnings and the growth of the religious thinking of the Hebrew nation. An invaluable volume for all who would understand the Old Testament and its spiritual message, it is particularly attractive to clergymen and lay leaders. **$2.50**

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